The New REPUBLIC

February 4, 1946

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Editorial

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The Good Chance in China . *Richard Watts Jr.*

Four Million Muzzles . . . . . *Dale Kramer*

UNO: Report from London

by Radio from Louis Dolivet

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 5 NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1946 NUMBER 1627

Is a Wage Victory in Sight?

THERE APPEARED to be good hope for believing over the weekend of January 27 that the ice was breaking up in the reconversion wage crisis. A single big settlement of a wage dispute might be enough to resolve a situation that threatened to paralyze the economy of the nation.

On the day that the federal government took over the meat-packing industry, the CIO packinghouse workers reversed their decision of the previous day and voted to send their members into the meat plants. The way for this wise decision was paved when Secretary of Agriculture Anderson promised the union that the government would institute any wage increase recommended by the presidential fact-finding panel in the meat case. Secretary Anderson himself was reversing an earlier opinion, and his turnabout permitted the packinghouse workers to change their ominous decision to defy the government and continue the strike.

The packinghouse workers acted in the best interest of the CIO, since the temporary settlement of their crisis gave President Truman and his unhappy economic advisers no alternative but to turn to the next most pressing issue—the national steel strike, and the defiant refusal of the steel industry to abide by the President's compromise proposal for an 18.5-cent wage increase, a refusal made the more incredible by the fact that the government had offered the industry a price boost as bait to bring the U. S. Steel Corporation into wage negotiations with President Philip Murray of the CIO.

While the packinghouse workers surrendered the center of the stage to the steel workers, events were bubbling in the auto industry with such rapidity it seemed not impossible that a breach in the employers' ranks in Detroit would bring an outbreak of peace in other basic industries, and put the country back into business in a very short time.

On Friday, January 25, the story leaked out that the Chrysler Corporation had offered the United Automobile Workers an improved contract and an 18.5-cent wage increase retroactive to January 1. (The same terms proposed by President Truman in steel.)

Before the report of the Chrysler offer leaked out, the Ford Motor Company and the UAW negotiators had recessed their negotiations until the following Tuesday. On Saturday morning, however, the report that Chrysler was about to make a settlement apparently impressed the Ford people with the importance, from a public-relations standpoint, of being the first of the big auto firms to sign a new agreement with the auto workers. The Ford negotiations were suddenly reconvened on Saturday morning, and within an hour the company and the union announced that there had been an agreement on an 18-cent increase. This break, plus the beginning of signs that the financial interests behind General Motors were becoming uncomfortably impressed by the staying powers of their striking employees, was almost the first wisp of good news (except that made by Henry Kaiser) since the wage crisis began to develop a few months ago.

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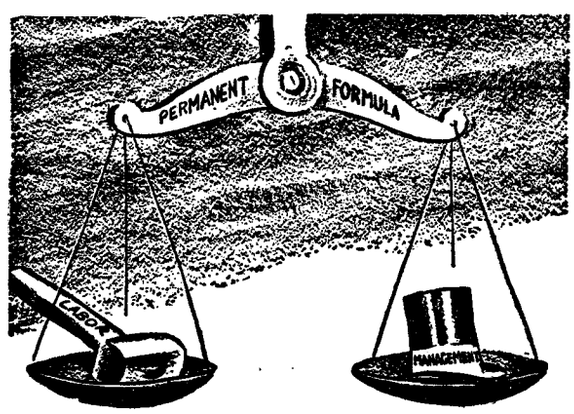
To the CIO, the importance of the signs of a break in the auto industry lay in the possibility that the steel industry would shortly be isolated, and in the least favorable public position of any industry, because of the rejection of the President's compromise offer.

CIO President Murray had played his cards so wisely that he had the government on his side, and there seemed little choice for President Truman but to take up the challenge that the steel industry had hurled at him in rejecting his compromise proposal. Even with the dubious quality of most of his intimate advisers, Mr. Truman can now hardly avert his eyes from the basic issue.

Two courses lay open to the President as he turned his attention to the steel strike over the weekend. He could seize the industry under his war powers and persuade the steel workers to return with the same promise that lured the packinghouse workers back into the meat plants—the promise of whatever wage increase might be recommended by his fact-finding panel. And it was a dead certainty that the presidential fact-finding panel in steel would hit on the same figure offered by the President—18.5 cents. The second course of action, which Mr. Truman was reported to have been seriously considering when the meat strike diverted his attention from it, was to summon the heads of the big steel corporations to the White House, give them one more chance to accept his compromise settlement, and if they refused, to turn every ounce of influence possessed by the White House into public condemnation of the steel barons, in the hope that they would crack under the barrage of public hostility.

Whether the real break in the wage crisis has begun or not, one thing seems reasonably certain this week: More than two million CIO steel, auto, electrical and packinghouse workers are on the verge of achieving wage increases that will put about $750 million into their pay envelopes in 1946. In the struggle that has been going on, in picket lines and in negotiating rooms, older CIO leaders have had their mettle tried and the younger material for ultimate succession to leadership has been filtered out of the rank and file by the process of natural selection under the stress of the critical situation.



Little in the Nashville Tennessean

It Certainly Is Needed

The CIO and its leaders, from Philip Murray down, will emerge from the present crisis a vibrant, fighting organization, and its wage victory, which now seems predictable, will have an appealing tug on wage levels in all the lower-paid and more poorly organized industries. While the dust is still settling from the present dispute, we are very likely to see the CIO capitalizing on its new prestige with an organizing campaign exceeding in intensity that of 1936 and 1937.

Power Politics in the UNO

Those who thought the first meeting of the UNO in London would be a perfunctory affair at which little of importance would be done, realize by now how completely wrong they were. The struggle of power politics has been violent indeed; if the organization comes through the ordeal unscathed it will have demonstrated a remarkable degree of vitality. The popular theory in London, which may or may not be true, is that the Russians believed the British were behind Iran's appeal for protection against Russian interference, and in a spirit of "you're another," brought their charge regarding British misbehavior in Greece and Indonesia. Britain, which is seeking to make herself the leader of the movement limiting national sovereignty in favor of world organization, has responded by welcoming a UNO investigation of Greece and Indonesia. Meanwhile, the new government in Iran, more friendly to the USSR, has withdrawn the original charge, and this could result in the dropping of the counter-charges as well. Louis Dolivet, in his article radioed from London, appearing on page 151 of this issue, shows how far the world is from being animated by any really new spirit; he reports that Russia is sticking to her guns, there is little real advance among the colonial powers on trusteeship, some of the smaller countries have reactionary delegates, and probably nothing will be done at this session about Spain, Argentina, Palestine or a worldwide "bill of human rights." On the other hand, he reports that the UNO is definitely developing a prestige and influence of its own, so that if the Iranian charges should be revived, or if the Greek and Indonesian questions should be kept alive, all these cases will be considered, no matter who wants them, or doesn't.

The UNO and Atomic Energy

Undoubtedly the most important single action of the UNO thus far has been the decision to grapple with the question of atomic energy. To be sure, this is only the barest beginning. In so far as there is any "secret" of the atomic bomb, it is theoretically still in the hands

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of the United States, Canada and Great Britain. The stern warnings in Congress a few days ago against sharing the information generally—which come, unfortunately, from men who know practically nothing about the matter—give some idea of the political problem we shall face when we get to grips with the question: for thus far there are no peacetime uses to be shared; we can do nothing as yet except to cause explosions or to create artificially radioactive substances, which we could already do through the cyclotron. Nevertheless, we have to start at some time, and on some level, to internationalize control of this, the most terrifyingly huge and dangerous source of energy in the history of the world. That beginning has now been made.

Bouncing Radar off the Moon

The news that scientists have succeeded in bouncing radar impulses off the moon is one of the most dramatic pieces of information in a long time. It gives a great lift to the spirit to know that man has managed to break the bounds which have existed since this planet had its start, and has sent tangible proof of his intelligence soaring into outer space. Unfortunately, the event overstimulated a good many people, so that the newspapers indulged in an unusual orgy of quite unjustified speculation. All the old—and usually ignorant—speculations about life on other planets, about the possibility of expeditions to the moon, and so on, were dusted off, with no justification unless you assume that the papers felt a large amount of space had to be filled and found that the legitimate discussion was too brief for their purposes. It is a reckless man who nowadays sets any sort of limit to the future possibilities of science; but at the moment, nothing appears to be in sight from the new development except possibly some fresh information about lunar topography. That, certainly, is exciting enough; and it is a pity that the papers smothered the real thrill of the achievement by going on to the realm of the fantastic and the incredible.

The Atomic-Bomb Experiment

The United States Government has now announced its plans to test the atomic bomb on naval vessels. To the layman, the number of ships to be employed is astonishingly large, and suggests that our Admirals are using the occasion to sink a lot of vessels not entirely obsolete, by old standards, in order to go to Congress and demand money for new ones. Whether the atomic bomb has made all navies completely useless is a moot question; but we should be greatly astonished if the Admirals reported that this was the case, no matter how the tests come out. The military mind is excessively conservative, and especially at the top level. Even if the most alarmist statements one hears about the atomic bomb proved to be true—quite possibly they are—we should expect the greatest resistance among professional soldiers and sailors to recognition of the fact.

Those who wanted the experiment to be witnessed by Americans only have apparently been overruled, and it is good news that this is so. Even if you assumed that some secrets should still be kept, this would not preclude the presence of observers from other countries. The more the world knows about the awful power of the new weapon, the better.

Atomic Control

The first hearings on the McMahon bill for atomic control show the vital need for greater understanding of the problem by both Congress and the public. Senator McMahon's bill, which would put responsibility for atomic-energy developments in civilian instead of military hands, while ensuring its availability for the national defense, found few supporters even in McMahon's own special Senate Atomic Committee. Army and Navy witnesses who appeared before the committee were clearly committed to a die-hard position of holding out for the impossible May-Johnson "secrecy" bill. Secretary Forrestal repeated the worn-out theme of the armed forces, "We must not hamper the military until international agreements are clear." Senator Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) is continually confusing ill informed colleagues by repeating the same injunction inside the committee and out of it.

The McMahon bill is a carefully drawn, forthright plan for putting atomic energy to work in line with the common welfare. Its enactment into law is being blocked by general ignorance and misinformation on the subject. A major barrier is the failure of the administration to blast away the myth of "secrecy" for all time. It is hard to believe that the kind of support necessary to pass the McMahon bill will come until the nation has been convinced that the development of atomic energy by any country is neither industrially nor economically impossible.

Filibuster

The Senate filibuster against the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission has revealed alarming conditions on both sides. Senator Millard Tydings (D, Md.), ranting against the FEPC, took time out to assail the very basis of our government: "The rule of the majority," Tydings sneered. "The rule of votes. Majority to Hades. The rule of petty political preference." He did not state what other form of rule he and his fellow reactionaries in the Senate propose. No one of the filibusterers arose to deny that Tydings spoke for the group as a whole.

The low ebb of progressivism in the Senate has been apparent for some time past. But the most hardened liberals have been shocked by the small number of proponents of the bill who were willing to exert any more

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energy on its behalf than that required to say "aye" on a roll call. The filibusterers were treated with all the refinements of Senate etiquette. Although considerably more than a majority of the Senate had pledged themselves to support the bill, a simple majority could not be found who were willing to throw the Senate into continuous session until the bill could be forced to the floor.

Senator Morse (R, Ore.) repeatedly called for all-night meetings, with cots in the cloak rooms if necessary, with little response. There was hardly more enthusiasm for voting cloture, the only remaining way to limit debate. Democrats and Republicans alike must share the blame for the irresponsible way in which this filibuster has been countenanced. Both parties can be sure that this issue will still be alive to plague them in both the 1946 and 1948 campaigns. Men like Senators Chavez, Morse, Guffey, Myers, Smith and Ball, who never faltered in the fight, deserve the fullest credit and support.

Bad News about the AFL

It is bad news for the future of organized labor that John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers have gone back into the AFL. Theoretically, whatever makes for unity in the labor movement is good; the split between CIO and AFL has obviously weakened labor in many ways. In this case, however, the opposite is true. Lewis, by his personality and his ruthless political tactics, will get a position in the AFL far greater than the numerical proportions of the UMW would justify; the Lewis tail is likely to wag the Green dog. Lewis is a symbol of all that is bad in trade unionism to the middle class, and to millions of soldiers and veterans. If much of the animus against him is undeserved, it is also true that his attitude is reactionary, his policies inadequate to future needs. He is totally incapable of saying, as Walter Reuther did on behalf of the UAW, that he does not want an increase in wages which can be proved to be inflationary. The country needs more Reuthers and fewer Lewises; part of the hope for the future lies in the younger leaders in the AFL, now coming into prominence, who will eventually supplant men like Lewis, as feudalistic as the bosses whom they fight.

Minimum Wages

The Senate Education and Labor Committee has now favorably reported the bill to increase the minimum wage for workers in interstate commerce to 65 cents an hour as requested by the President. In doing so, the committee, led by Senator Pepper (D, Fla.), made a real contribution toward full production and employment in the future. Between two and four million of the millions of workers who still earn less than 65 cents an hour will get a raise when and if this new law is enacted. For them, it will mean only $26 for a 40-hour week of work. Not much—but enough to make their families less of a drag on the general economy, to start lifting them from the mere subsistence level. This group, as was pointed out in the hearings on the bill, are "our greatest undeveloped market—a market which can be tapped to improve income and employment opportunities for everybody simply by raising the level of minimum wages."

The Committee recommends to the Senate that the minimum be raised from 65 cents to 70 cents after two years' time and to 75 cents two years later. It is important that the Senate immediately consider this measure and enact it as is, without the many crippling amendments which anti-labor Senators will undoubtedly introduce from the floor.

Action in Housing

In naming Wilson Wyatt Administrator of the National Housing Agency, President Truman has cleared the decks for action. In his former position as special housing "expediter," Wyatt was handicapped by the fact that he had to report to John Snyder, who is notably unable to resist the charm of the real-estate lobby, and that he had no administrative machinery through which to carry out his ideas. Housing Administrator John Blandford, who now goes to China as budget adviser, had done a competent job but was not well suited to an emergency job of the size and character facing us now. Having spent less time in Washington, Wyatt will have fewer congressional and other enemies to contend with, at least at first.

First of all, Wyatt will need to raise the housing goals for the immediate future and get the necessary legislative sanctions required to reach them. One million homes in 1946 is the very minimum that must be substituted for the half-million previously estimated. We need to pass the Patman bill giving the NHA full power over priorities for building materials and prices for both old and new houses. And the Mitchell-Kilgore bill, which provides for mass production of homes for veterans through utilization of wartime techniques and surplus war plants. And the Wagner-Ellender bill for an expanded, permanent national housing program. With these tools and the ability and imagination he is known to possess, Mr. Wyatt should be able to ensure the high rate and quality of the housing production we so desperately need.

Discrimination in the Colleges

An official committee appointed by the Mayor of New York City has now publicly announced what everybody already knew: that in many of the chief American universities there is gross discrimination against students on the grounds of race or creed. The committee reports a general feeling against all students whose residence is in New York City, but particularly against Jews, Italians, Negroes and Catholics. Some

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college heads, like President Hopkins of Dartmouth, openly admit the existence of a quota system; but in most institutions pretexts of one sort or another are used to achieve the same end. There is a good deal of talk in New York about the idea of establishing a New York State university, equipped with medical, dental, legal and other professional schools, at which all students with proper scholastic qualifications would be accepted.

We do not see any objection to another university if one is needed; but this proposal seems an evasion of a fundamental issue which should be faced and fought out. Most of the institutions which practise the essentially Nazi doctrine of race and creed discrimination receive substantial benefits from the federal, state or local governments, particularly in the form of exemption from taxation, to the tune of many millions of dollars annually. The first step, it seems to us, should be to insist that any college which wishes to depart so completely from fundamental democratic principles should at least be required to pay its own way. We predict that if this were done, a lot of them would experience a change of heart.

Cooling Off in Minnesota

With proposals facing Congress for a cooling-off period before strikes, the experience of Minnesota is relevant. That state has had a law of this character since 1939, originally introduced by former Governor Harold E. Stassen, who offered it, as President Truman has done, to head off still more savagely anti-union legislation. Observers in Minnesota report that experience in that state certainly does not encourage national legislation of the same character. The evidence is not conclusive because, during four of the six years that the law has been in effect, Minnesota labor operated under a no-strike pledge, which was loyally observed. Minnesota's record, in general, seems no better and no worse than that of other states. Unions file notice of intention to strike about twenty times as often as they actually go out, but this does not mean that the machinery of law is successful in preventing strikes; the unions simply file as a precautionary measure. One could make a case that the law has unsettled industrial relations, rather than the contrary. Stassen's argument that the measure would prevent more drastic legislation has proved fallacious; such legislation is introduced at every session of the legislature, and the friends of labor fight bitterly to keep it from passing.

Write Your Own Editorial

The American State Department, doing its best to keep the whole transaction secret, has within the past few weeks agreed to the sale of several hundred thousand dollars' worth of airplanes and air-field equipment to Franco. The deal was discovered accidentally from European sources.

Regionalism and the UNO

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT today is busy trying to destroy its own foreign policy. At the same time that it promotes the "one-world" idea of universal interdependent security through the United Nations, it cannot let go of the old idea that the security of the American Republics is the concern, not of the world but of the Western Hemisphere. On the very day the United States delegates to the first session of the United Nations General Assembly boarded the *Queen Elizabeth* for their trip to England, the State Department handed to Latin American ambassadors in Washington a draft treaty that would establish a system of exclusive American coöperation to intervene against aggression by a New World state. Having abandoned the belief that the United States can isolate itself from the rest of the globe, our government nevertheless hopes that it can isolate the continental problems of North and South America.

The government plans to achieve the ruin of its world policy in March or April at Rio de Janeiro. There the foreign ministers of the American Republics will meet. There they will consider the draft for inter-American security. The draft does acknowledge the existence and powers of the United Nations, because its purpose is to strengthen the inter-American position "in order to contribute to the maintenance of individual and collective right of defense against armed attack until the Security Council [of the United Nations] has taken action." But the effect of the treaty would be to keep all American problems out of the province of the United Nations or to invite a clash between the Security Council, which might have one approach to a question, and the American states, which might have another, or, more likely, that of inaction. The United States seems to forget that in any case it will be able to use its veto in the Security Council to keep Europeans and Asiatics from intervening in the affairs of America. The influence of Monroe Doctrine thinking remains strong.

Seventy-seven liberal-minded Argentinians have brought the issue over this inconsistency down to earth. Arnaldo Cortesi recently reported to the New York *Times* from Buenos Aires that they had petitioned the United Nations to embrace a doctrine permitting multilateral intervention against governments that infringe the fundamental rights of man and the sovereignty of the people. Furthermore, they asked that this doctrine be made applicable everywhere on earth, including South America. The signers of the petition said that they believed in Pan Americanism, but thought the defense of human rights was a task for the United Nations. The signers are men of substance in intellectual and political circles.

As Argentinians, living under a government which acknowledges no human rights, the petitioners knew as well as any people anywhere that inter-Americanism

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has been futile in upholding the case of humanity within any country in the Western Hemisphere since the overthrow of the Spanish hegemony. The United States long supported the merciless dictator Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. The United States announced in 1944 that the terroristic government of Bolivia, headed by President Villarroel, was democratic and benevolent. And the United States for a long period not only overlooked the infringements by the Argentine government of fundamental human rights but, in a frantic effort to solidify the American republics, insisted during the San Francisco Conference last spring that Argentina be admitted to the United Nations.

The Argentine petitioners performed a double service by drawing attention to two great issues for the United States. They force us to ask not only whether we can make ourselves secure while maintaining two incompatible systems, one universal and the other continental; but whether the problem of our time is not the improvement of relations among human beings as well as among countries. The draft treaty is aimed at protecting countries from aggression; it directs the American states to consult about intervention in the event of an armed attack by one of their number against another.

The 77 Argentines aim at protecting people within a country from oppression by their compatriots. They apply on a world scale the proposal which Rodriguez Larreta, the chancellor of Uruguay, made in November to consider the possibility of inter-American intervention to safeguard democratic principles. The Rodriguez Larreta proposal is important, as we said at the time, because it breaks new ground through recognizing the fact that the internal situation in a fascist-controlled country may be—and indeed, must be—of international concern in the Atomic Age. Secretary Byrnes was right to recognize its importance. It could be used as a means of strengthening the UNO in the way the Argentine liberals propose. It would be a tragic mistake if it were used to weaken the UNO by the development of an exclusive American bloc which would accelerate the already dangerous movement toward British and Russian blocs in the new worldwide organization.

In promoting an inter-American monopoly over American relations we deny the deep interest of European and Asiatic states in the Western Hemisphere. Since fascism is a world scourge, its continuing existence in Argentina is a world problem. Furthermore, as we have said, by establishing a regional monopoly we encourage other great members of the United Nations Organization to follow suit, and thereby break up the new world system into antagonistic fragments. Frictions among regions could lead to war. Belief that the Western Hemisphere can care for its own problems results from an illusion based on geography. It can become a deadly illusion.

Good News Is No News

THE FRONT PAGE of your daily paper stresses disasters or threats of disasters, and minimizes information which should go into the other side of the scale for a balanced picture. This week, as industrial strife is at a fresh climax and the new-born UNO is forced to grapple with problems which endanger its very existence, the thoughtful citizen may like to remember:

That more than 50 million people are now at work in the United States and that increased productivity per man-hour in the recent past has more than offset all the losses encountered because of strikes.

That we now have an international organization devoted to the cause of permanent peace, with Russia and the United States both members—something no optimist would have dared predict seven years ago.

That the gloomy estimates of six to eight million unemployed by next spring because of reconversion are now admitted to be greatly exaggerated: not more than 2.5 million persons are out of a job for this reason.

That in most areas, the physical task of reconversion is already about 90-percent completed.

That while prices are still rising in the United States, thus far we have succeeded fairly well in curbing inflation and there seems little likelihood of runaway increases such as followed the last war, when the price index went up 170 percent.

That thanks partly to the many medical discoveries of recent years, the death rate in this country has gone down about one-third in the last quarter-century.

That as recently as three years ago, the chances seemed more than even that the fascists would conquer the world, and that freedom everywhere would be destroyed for decades or generations—or centuries.

This is of course no time for Pollyannas. The job still ahead for the people who want peace and good will is terrifying in its proportions. But perhaps not quite so terrifying as it may seem at any given moment to those who confine their reading to headlines.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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It Was Worse Last Time

by George Soule

MANY AMERICANS are disillusioned and frightened by what has happened since the end of the war. In international relations there is disharmony. At home there is nationwide industrial conflict. The cost of living has risen, the stock market is booming and there is fear of inflation. Almost nobody without a place to live can get one, and the housing shortage will not be made up for years.

It may be of some comfort to remember that after the First World War there was a parallel for each of these situations, that most of them were worse than at present, and yet the nation lived through them.

DEMOBILIZATION

Almost everybody remembers that the Senate defeated American membership in the League of Nations, that Russia was an international outlaw and that the United States returned to political and economic isolation. It is not necessary to emphasize the contrast between that situation and the happier one of UNO, plus American efforts to build world economic coöperation. It may be noted in passing, however, that whereas now Russia is arguing with Great Britain and the United States about various issues, then American and British troops were invading Russian soil.

Internally, the contrast is just as sharp. When the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, dollar-a-year men in Washington rose from their desks, locked the doors of their offices and went to Florida for a vacation before returning to private life. Some Washington offices closed so suddenly that the executives had to lend money to stenographers for railroad fare home. Two days after the Armistice the War Industries Board began to end price control, which had never been extended to retail prices anyway. Within a little more than a month, no more priority orders were issued.

In January, 1919, Congress curtailed the appropriation for the United States Employment Service by 80 percent at a time when it was placing 150,000 men a week. Many of its staff volunteered to work on without pay, and contributions of private funds enabled it to continue on a greatly reduced scale. By October, the whole function of placing returned veterans and discharged war workers had to be turned over to an unofficial Emergency Committee, which did little but send Boy Scouts around to employers asking them to rehire service men. It did attempt to suppress peddling and panhandling by men in uniform. About three million were unemployed in the early part of 1919.

Virtually no housing had been built during the war. Returning veterans found few vacancies in the big cities and rents were rising rapidly. There was no public housing excepting that built by a federal emergency war agency, the activities of which were immediately cut off by order of Congress. Congress refused to adopt a program of public works to stimulate employment, and although President Wilson called a conference of governors and mayors to ask them to undertake more local building, they did not respond. The Department of Labor started a publicity campaign to induce people to build their own homes, but the net result was a construction index which in 1919 was 11 percent below the prewar level of 1910-13. There was no national rent control. New York State eventually enacted a rent-control law, but it applied only to old dwellings.

STRIKES

The extensive machinery for labor adjustment built up during the war was quickly demobilized. In the first quarter of 1919 a business boom began, so that the unemployment crisis was relieved, but the cost of living, high though it already was, started to rise even more rapidly than during the war. In 1918, it averaged 50 percent above 1914; in 1919 it rose to 77 percent above the prewar level, and in 1920 it was more than doubled.

Labor unrest, stimulated by rising prices, the revolutions in Russia and Germany and the militant attitude of British labor in both the industrial and political field, produced an epidemic of strikes. There were more than 3,600 strikes in 1919, involving about four million workers out of a total of about 30 million employees. They occurred in railroads, steel, coal, textiles, clothing and dozens of other occupations affecting necessities and conveniences.

Early in 1919 the country was startled by the occurrence of a general strike in Seattle, Washington. The city was thoroughly unionized; the effort of the leaders of the strike was to stop all activity and tie up the entire city. Naturally such an attempt could not long endure and was violently denounced by all organs of public opinion. The Mayor of Seattle, Ole Hanson, won short-lived fame by his suppression of the strike and his invective against its leaders and motives.

Another incident which particularly aroused the conservatives was a strike of policemen in Boston. The members of the police force had no radical aim and were merely seeking better wages and working conditions together with recognition of their union, but the

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very fact that police officers should go on strike frightened people so much that bitter condemnation ensued. It was for his supposed part in quelling this strike that Calvin Coolidge, then Governor of Massachusetts, achieved a national reputation which led to his nomination for the vice-presidency in 1920.

During the war, the railroad shop crafts had been successfully organized and had carried on collective bargaining with the Railroad Administration. Early in 1919, they became extremely dissatisfied with the lag in their wages behind the cost of living, and also wanted a national agreement which would bring about uniformity in hours, seniority and working rules. After negotiations had dragged along without result, unauthorized strikes broke out, involving about a quarter of a million men. A serious tie-up of transportation followed, and continued until the government granted a small wage increase and signed national agreements. It asked the shopmen to be patient, saying that measures would soon be taken to reduce the cost of living. No such measures were taken.

IN THE steel industry, unionism had been smashed years before in the bloody Homestead strike. The AFL craft unions, which technically held jurisdiction, did not even attempt to organize steel until just before the end of the war. Then, in accord with a resolution introduced by William Z. Foster and passed by the AFL convention in 1918, the presidents of the twenty-four unions involved formed a steel workers' organizing committee. This committee started its work in September, 1918.

Considerably over one-third of the steelworkers had a 12-hour day for seven days a week. Another large fraction still worked a 10-hour day, while only a small minority had achieved the 48-hour week, which during the war had become prevalent throughout the country. Some of the more highly skilled men received comparatively good wages, but on the whole wage

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standards were low and the work was laborious and dangerous.

Housing and sanitary conditions were deplorable, many of the workers' houses being unpainted shacks without running water or plumbing. Workers had no political organization of their own, and most of them seldom took the trouble to vote. Indeed, many of them who were immigrants had, because of their long hours, never had the opportunity to learn English. In the Pittsburgh district—the heart of the industry—the local governments were supported and controlled by the employers. Free speech was virtually nonexistent.

The organizing campaign went well in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, because it was started before the War Labor Board was disbanded, and discharges for union activity were forbidden. In the Pittsburgh area, however, more difficulty was encountered because it was not reached until later and the union received no governmental protection. Halls could not be hired and outdoor meetings were forbidden. State police rode about on their horses, pushing gatherings of workers off the sidewalks. Labor spies reported active union members to the managements and created dissension in the ranks of labor.

The unions presented their demands on July 20, 1919, asking for one day's rest in seven, the eight-hour day, abolition of the *twenty-four-hour* shift, wage increases, the right of collective bargaining and other concessions. Judge Gary, chairman of U. S. Steel, refused to confer with the workers' representatives or discuss the issues, except to say that the eight-hour day was impractical because it would increase costs. The strike was called on September 22. About 280,000 workers went out.

The corporation, with its huge financial resources, simply sat out the strike while minimizing its effectiveness and directing propaganda at its leader, William Z. Foster, because of his syndicalist background. Through the newspapers, the strike was presented to the public as a Red plot, although it was conducted according to conservative trade-union principles in pursuit of moderate demands and the unions were extremely careful to avoid violence. The slender resources of the strikers were eventually exhausted and the strike was officially called off early in January, 1920. Steel remained unorganized throughout the ensuing decade.

WHILE the steel strike was in its last stages, the soft-coal miners also walked out. Many of them had for years been organized and the United Mine Workers' union was strong in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. They complained about unemployment and the high cost of living, and asked for a 60-percent wage increase and a 30-hour week.

The Fuel Administration had ceased to control coal prices in February, 1919, and became inactive in June. The mine operators declined to negotiate with the

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union at all, on the ground that a strike order had been issued to go into effect if no agreement could be reached. The union therefore set the last day of October for the beginning of the strike. Just a week before that date the President proclaimed that the country was still legally at war and that a coal strike which would interfere with aid to the Allies would be unlawful. This position shocked and angered the miners, who did not understand how the war could be over for the employers but not for them. Since the prices of coal had risen sharply after the removal of control, they saw no reason why they could not pursue their usual course in seeking higher wages.

President Gompers of the AFL on October 29 telegraphed President John L. Lewis of the miners that if the strike were postponed, a conference with the operators would be possible. Simultaneously Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer made a public statement that the Act creating the Fuel Administration was still in force and that under it a strike would be illegal because of clauses forbidding combinations to restrict production and transportation. At the time of the passage of the act in question, labor had been assured that these clauses were not intended to cover union activity. Nevertheless, Mr. Palmer threatened that all the resources of the government would be brought to bear to prevent a cessation of mining operations. If it had not been for this threat, the strike might have been postponed, but the union officials decided that the rights of labor were at stake and that they could not compromise.

On October 30, President Wilson renewed the wartime regulation of coal prices, and on this slender legal basis the Attorney General persuaded Federal Judge Anderson to issue a drastic and detailed restraining order preventing the union or anyone else from doing anything in aid of the strike. Judicial interdiction of union liberty could scarcely have gone further. Nevertheless on the following day more than 400,000 miners failed to report for work.

A deadlock ensued because the union would do nothing to facilitate a settlement so long as the court order stood, while neither the government nor the employers would make any promises until the strike order was recalled. On November 8 the court made permanent the restraining order and told the union to cancel the strike order by November 11. Even the conservative AFL Executive Council denounced the government for breaking faith with the miners in its interpretation of the law, and urged all affiliated organizations to support the miners' union.

On November 10, however, the leaders of the United Mine Workers surprisingly surrendered and called upon the men to support the government. Though Mr. Lewis called the strike off, the miners refused to return to work. The unauthorized strike continued for several weeks until, on December 9, the revived Fuel Administration granted a 14-percent wage increase and the union agreed to the President's proposal that a commission be created to adjudicate the other demands. The United Mine Workers suffered from competition in the non-union fields and steadily declined in membership and power for thirteen years.

The coal strike caused temporary shortages of fuel for both industry and railroads and created further difficulties for railroad transportation, which was already suffering from inadequate equipment. The steel and coal strikes together caused a temporary drop in the curve of industrial production and probably contributed to the increase of prices already resulting from the excess of demand over supply. They also frayed the nerves of those who were apprehensive about revolutionary trends abroad and labor unrest at home.

Inflation and Crash

On the basis of swollen bank loans, wild speculation seized not only the stock and commodity markets, but manufacturing and trade. Businessmen ordered immense quantities of goods, hoping to profit from the rise in prices, and thus stimulated the price rise. During 1919 the value of business inventories increased by $6 billion, or nearly four times as much as in any year of the ensuing decade except 1923. Two-thirds of this increase was due to growth in the physical quantity of goods, and one-third to soaring prices.

President Harding, overwhelmingly elected just as the boom was beginning to crash, introduced an isolationist regime devoted to the supposed interests of business. The index of wholesale prices fell from 227.9 in 1920 to 150.6 in 1921—one of the most violent declines on record. About 4.75 million wage earners were jobless; in the end 450,000 farmers lost their farms and there were more than 100,000 bankruptcies. Employers, staging an open-shop campaign, tried to destroy unions, and in many cases succeeded. The large corporations, however, suffered comparatively little. Dividends fell from the record high of $3.2 billion in 1920 to $2 billion in 1921, but this figure was higher than the 1919 total. Interest paid actually increased from 1920 to 1921, so that the net drop in interest and dividends was only $32 million. The labor movement lost over a million members inside of two years, and did not recover until the New Deal. The principal legislative achievement of the Harding Administration was the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, raising duties to the highest point on record.

In spite of all, however, production quickly recovered, efficiency made great strides and real wages showed the largest gain in history. The labor movement and the progressives, though a hopeless minority for more than ten years, fought on and laid the basis for the achievements of the Roosevelt administration.

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How Many Anti-Nazi Germans?

by Gabriel A. Almond

IN THE EARLY months of 1945 as Allied troops overpowered German resistance, dozens of German organizations representing themselves as survivors of anti-Nazi movements offered their services to the Allied authorities and asked for permission to engage in political activity. These groups were treated with considerable skepticism by the Military Government authorities and were soon dissolved under the SHAEF order forbidding political organization. The subsequent relaxation of this order has resulted in the formation of political parties among the Germans with memberships of considerable size. But the good faith of these organizations has been called into question by the widespread conviction that they consist of "fair-weather" anti-fascists, that Germans did not resist the Nazis when it counted.

Germans can validly claim that they were represented in the European resistance to the Nazis, and that they suffered great casualties in this struggle. Those who reported to MG authorities after the occupation and represented themselves as members of anti-fascist organizations were largely bona-fide survivors of the German resistance movement which had never been completely crushed by the Nazis. They were survivors of organizations which had been broken up and decimated repeatedly in the preceding twelve years.

The existence of these organizations is confirmed by official Gestapo reports, by interrogations of Gestapo officials now in internment camps and by statements of surviving anti-fascist leaders. In 1944 Hamburg had around 1,200 anti-fascists organized in an Anti-Fascist Committee based in part on workers' cells in the shipyards Blohm and Voss and Deutsche Werft, and in such factories as Menck and Hambrock, and Harburger Oelwerke. Bremen had a "Kampfgemeinschaft gegen den faschismus" numbering around 400, also based in part on factory cells in the shipyards Deschimag, the aircraft plants Focke-Wulf and Weser Flugzeug, and other factories in the area. Lübeck had some 250 German and foreign workers organized into Social Democratic and Communist groups. Leipzig had a unit of the National Committee for Free Germany, the constituent units of which numbered 300 to 400 members. Halle had around 100 organized Social Democrats, Communists and liberal democrats unified in an "Anti-Nazi Movement." Dresden had a unit of the National Committee for Free Germany and anti-fascist units running into the hundreds. Frankfurt-am-Main had a united Communist and Social Democratic organization with a membership of around 100; Hanover and Munich had hundreds of organized anti-fascists.

SOME GERMANS ARE RELIABLE

American policy in Germany is admittedly in a state of almost complete chaos and confusion. Various United States officials follow contradictory policies, or operate with complete opportunism. Among the reasons for this state of things is the doubt which apparently exists as to whether there are any genuine anti-Nazis among the German people, whether those who now profess hostility to Nazism are not just "rice Christians."

In this important article, Professor Almond shows by indisputable evidence—the records of the Nazis themselves—the size and scope of the resistance to the Hitler regime during the war.

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ACCORDING TO Gestapo statistics available for the first half of 1944, Germans were arrested for acts of subversion against the regime at a considerable rate. In Bremen, Hamburg, Frankfurt-am-Main, Cologne, Munich, Muenster, Nuremberg, Karlsruhe and Kiel, arrests of Germans for participation in left-wing anti-fascist activity averaged around fifteen per month. In practically all the larger cities in Germany and many of the smaller as well, nuclei of resistance persisted until the very end. During April, May and June of 1944, nearly 10,000 Germans were arrested for subversive activity in those areas in which the Gestapo had regional headquarters. This total was about evenly divided between the less severely punished acts of individual resistance (criticism of the regime, listening to the Allied radio, etc.) and the capital offenses of organized anti-Nazi activity. More than 1,700 Germans were arrested in this period for participation in the activities of Communist, Social Democratic and Socialist Laborite, or combined anti-fascist groups. More than a thousand were arrested for participation in the activities of middle-class and conservative groups. Some 1,700 arrests were classified under the heading of "resistance movements," a category of organizations largely made up of foreigners. Some of these Germans were probably implicated in the activities of the organizations among the millions of foreign workers. They are not to be confused, however, with the even larger category of Germans arrested for "Prohibited Acts of Fraternization with Foreigners." These were separately accounted for in

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Gestapo tabulations. Also included under the miscellaneous "resistance-movements" category were the young Germans arrested for participation in anti-Hitler Youth activity. Finally, more than 500 Germans—clergymen and religious leaders—were arrested in the second quarter of 1944 for religious resistance.

It is, of course, unfortunate that statistics of arrests for all of Germany are only available for the second quarter of 1944. But in the absence of more comprehensive data, a rough estimate of the probable scope of resistance to the Nazis among the Germans during this period may be projected. Other evidence indicates that arrests in the second half of 1944 (after the July 20 attempt on Hitler's life) were on a greater scale than in the first half of that year. It is probably safe to estimate that the number of arrests for all of 1944 was at least four times the total for the second quarter. This gives us an estimated figure of 40,000 arrests of "subversive" Germans in 1944. Our estimate of the number arrested for participation in left-wing organizations would be considerably more than 6,000; for participants in middle-class and conservative groups around 4,000; for participation by Germans in miscellaneous resistance movements, around 6,000; and for religious resistance, more than 2,000. Arrests for less serious offenses would account for the remainder.

OBVIOUSLY the number of acts of subversion against the Nazis was larger than the number of arrests for these causes. What the precise ratio was it is impossible to judge. In 1944, the morale reports of the Himmler intelligence service, the Sicherheitsdienst, constantly refer to a sizable "disloyal" element among the population, an element that had no faith in victory or in the Nazi cause. The German domestic press and radio in this period also reflected increasing concern over the "reliability" of various elements.

If we estimate the number of subversive persons subject to arrest at several times the number arrested, we arrive at a total of overtly "disloyal" Germans in excess of a hundred thousand. This estimate is only of Germans who took the risk of jail sentences and death penalties. About half of these were persons engaged in some form of deliberate anti-Nazi activity.

We do not claim that we can project these 1944 estimates back into the earlier years of the war. The German resistance had been demoralized by terror, by the desertion of democratic Germany first by the democratic powers at Munich, and later by the Russians in the Nazi-Soviet Pact and by the Nazi successes from 1935 to 1941. As the Nazi fortunes declined after 1942, subversion and resistance increased, as was the case with European resistance as a whole.

But the risks of opposition in 1944 continued to be great. While there was a decline in the general morale and effectiveness of the Gestapo toward the end of the war, acts of summary brutality increased. It was in late 1944 and early 1945 that thousands of political prisoners were murdered by SS squads without judicial process. The number of anti-Nazi Germans may fairly be estimated at many times the number of those who overtly engaged in punishable acts of resistance—very likely the total ran into the millions.

THE ACTIVITIES of the organized segment of the anti-fascist resistance in Germany ranged all the way from the milder forms of opposition to the most dangerous. The left-wing groups took by far the greatest risks, and the Communists (just as in France) were the boldest. Viewed by themselves, these activities are not impressive; but they cannot be fairly viewed by themselves. There are no absolute standards for courage. Persistent listening to the enemy radio required little courage in the United States; in Germany discovery (and the chances of discovery were high) meant, at the least, a prison term of anywhere from two to ten years. Criticism of leaders involved no courage at all in the United States. In Germany such actions were punished by heavy prison sentences and, toward the end, by death. Participating in oppositional political organizations and spreading propaganda against the regime was legitimate in the United States. In Germany such actions were capital offenses. It is against this background that the courage of the German anti-fascists must be evaluated.

Group radio listening and spreading the news from Allied sources was engaged in on a large and constantly increasing scale. From Gestapo reports it appears that there must have been dozens of such groups in every large town. Hamburg had more than a hundred groups, according to the testimony of surviving Social Democrats, Communists and Communist Oppositionists. It is important to distinguish between radio groups which assumed the obligation of listening, discussing and disseminating news from the BBC and the Russian radio, and the great mass of regular and occasional listeners.

Although there are cases of anti-fascist groups which claim to have engaged in physical sabotage (particularly in the Hamburg shipyards), the typical form of labor sabotage was the slowdown, or *langsam arbeiten*, campaign. The movement began at the outbreak of the war and was intensified after 1943. It is difficult to square it with the high level of production of German industry throughout 1943 and early 1944. Discussions with plant managers indicated that the maintenance and increase of production was mainly due to the reduction of models and other simplification and standardization measures. Production increases fell far short of the goals anticipated as a result of industrial rationalization. From mid-1944 on, there was a definite and sizable slump in labor efficiency due to fatigue and defeatism. The slowdown campaign played on these attitudes and intensified them.

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One of the commonest techniques of the opposition was sending anonymous letters to government officials and other prominent persons, giving figures (taken from the Allied radio) on the military weakness of Germany in comparison to the Allies. Writing slogans and posting leaflets in public places was a general practice throughout Germany. Anti-Nazi slogans were written in chalk on kiosks, on walls, on fences, in telephone booths and other public places.

The Gestapo found this in a telephone booth in Essen in June of 1943: "In a short time we shall hang 200,000 Nazis on 200,000 gallows. Comrades, prepare yourselves for the hour for freedom! Social Democratic Party of Germany." In January of 1943, the following writing was found on the wall of a railroad bridge in Essen: "Hitler, his fat pig and his lame dog are guilty before the whole world." The Gestapo tells us that in January of 1943, children between the ages of six and fourteen were singing in the streets of Krefeld, Kempen and Düsseldorf, "*Es geht alles vorüber, es geht alles vorbei, auch Adolf Hitler mit seinem Partei*" (Everything passes, everything comes to an end, also Adolf Hitler and his Party). The Düsseldorf Gestapo report for February, 1944, states, "In the period between December, 1943, until February, 1944, in the city area of Neuss, nine different slogans and leaflets were found on houses and fences. In all cases the wall writings were in white chalk and the letters were printed. The persons responsible always chose the same words, 'Hang Hitler! Perish Hitler! Down with Hitler and peace will be secured!'"

PRINTED LEAFLETS were used less frequently than oral propaganda and handwritten slogans, since the distribution apparatus was more cumbersome and the danger of discovery greater. But there is evidence that the printing and mimeographing of leaflets was on a larger scale than some of us thought possible. Gestapo records report the distribution of some 20 separate leaflets emanating mainly from left-wing groups in the Düsseldorf Gestapo region from June, 1943, until June, 1944. There is similar evidence that leaflets were distributed in Leipzig, Hamburg, Halle and many other areas. They dealt with the air war, the increase in working hours, total mobilization, the Volkssturm, peaceful surrender, the Werewolves, and the like.

In many German towns efforts were made to prevent last-ditch resistance. These activities took the form of propagandizing and organizing mutinies in the Volkssturm, distributing leaflets urging the display of white flags, training and arming small military formations and making contact with and giving military information to the Allied forces. Anti-fascists claimed that they had armed formations numbering in the hundreds in Hamburg, Lübeck and Munich. The Lübeck group was arrested and many of its leaders executed. The theft of arms in Hamburg was confirmed by German military personnel. In each case it was claimed that something like 200 men were involved.

The Hamburg anti-fascist groups were by far the most aggressive. Meetings were guarded by armed men and the rule was kill or be killed. An underground refuge was maintained in the ruined quarter of the town; in the course of 1943-44 hundreds of Wehrmacht deserters were housed, fed, clothed and provided with forged papers. In early 1945 more than a dozen separate leaflets were distributed in issues of several thousands. They appeared in a numbered series and were entitled "Counter-orders." In the event the Nazi authorities had not surrendered the town, the Anti-Fascist Committee had worked out a plan for an uprising. Their main reliance was on groups of organized mutinuous soldiers in the Hindenburg, Mackensen and Wentorf barracks and armed workers' groups in the Blohm and Voss and Deutsche Werft shipyards.

A NUMBER of factors have been responsible for the lack of information concerning the German resistance since the occupation. Allied troops came into Germany as conquerors and to some extent to avenge the barbarism of the Nazis, a mood which intensified as information revealing the extent of atrocities came to light. The non-fraternization order inhibited contact even between the proved German anti-fascists and Allied troops and officials. In some areas the unfriendly reception which they received, plus doubt as to the policies to be followed by the Allied authorities, led some of these groups to return to a semi-underground existence.

Of equal importance was the atomized character of the resistance itself. The surviving members of these organizations had information about activity at a particular plant only, or of a particular section of a city. The Communist groups knew little about the Social Democrats, and vice versa; neither had more than the vaguest notion of what went on in other strata. The last central anti-Nazi leadership—in the Wehrmacht, among Conservatives, in Social Democratic and former trade-union circles—which might have been able to tell part of the story of the German resistance, had been killed after the July 20 attempt on Hitler's life. Only the Gestapo records had a partial history of the German resistance, and most of these records were destroyed before the occupation.

It is a tragedy that the anti-fascist Germans—many of them men and women who had been broken by torture and terror over a period of twelve years—found so little support in the occupation forces. Many of them belittled their own resistance activities, in effect begging forgiveness for still being alive. Most of them were deeply ashamed of being Germans. They did not deny knowledge of Nazi barbarities. They knew them from personal experience.

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Among the Germans today the only elements with courage and constructive plans for the future are the anti-Nazis—those who can look back on an unbroken record of opposition to National Socialism. They are few in number in proportion to the total population. The total number of surviving anti-fascists who were active in one way or another—among the workers, in the professions and among the clergy—can be counted only in the tens of thousands. Beyond those who retained their full integrity and morale are the millions who, while they worked and fought out of fear and a desperate patriotism, still retained their pre-Nazi moral and political convictions and refused to compromise themselves by affiliation with any of the voluntary Nazi formations. Beyond these, again, lie the legions of "*kleine männer*," little people, the great masses of "irresponsibles," which abound in all countries but which in Germany are especially marked by a glad submission to authority. Finally there are the millions of compromised Germans—the Party members, the SS, the Wehrmacht militarists and the Nazi industrial and financial monopolists and profiteers.

The surviving anti-fascists and the much larger groups of sympathizers associated with them are the only sureties which Germany can offer for a democratic future. We can help them by isolating and destroying the core of convinced Nazis, by crushing German militarism and feudalism, and by breaking up the conservative and anti-democratic stronghold of financial and industrial monopoly. These are positive and constructive steps which may open up new possibilities for a healthy German democracy unlike the frail superstructure which developed in the Weimar Republic. It is not without significance that only the Nazis and the conservative business circles in Germany favor an indefinite occupation, while the anti-fascists eagerly await the moment of emancipation and independence. Nazi and militarist Germany fears an accounting with the German workers even more than it does our occupation measures.

We must offer these anti-fascist elements positive encouragement to bring into full play the regenerative energies and resourcefulness which will be required to cope with the vast problems of moral, political and physical reconstruction. We must build up their prestige among the general population by demonstrating that there is a road back into the community of nations for a constructive Germany. Only in this way may we bring into full flame the spark of democratic morale which the Nazis were never able to extinguish.

UNO: Report from London

by Louis Dolivet

London, by radio

The two most impressive events during this whole session of the UNO were the opening meeting of the Security Council, held January 17, and the meeting of the General Assembly on January 24. At the meeting of the Security Council one could sense that all eleven members, even the Big Five, despite the veto power which they still keep, realized that they were "crossing the Rubicon," and that no road back was left to any of them. Even while the meeting was in progress, any permanent member could have stopped the whole machinery by asking for a delay, and there were many people in the packed council hall at Church House who were trembling at this possibility until the last moment.

There was a similar realization among those present at the Assembly meeting on January 24, which adopted the proposal for the creation of a commission on atomic energy, that history was being made, and that despite weak plans for control and inspection, at least the first step in the right direction had been taken. When the proposal was adopted, all the delegates rose and applauded the unanimous agreement they had just reached; their faces were tense as the Assembly presented one of the truly moving demonstrations of great statesmanship. Unfortunately, these are the only remarkable events in an international gathering which aroused the hopes of humanity. At other meetings, the representatives of the various governments kept repeating, for the most part, the things which had already been said over and over again at San Francisco, but which made no real contribution to the effective furtherance of international coöperation.

With the Iranian, Russian and Ukrainian requests for action addressed to the Security Council, the whole United Nations Assembly came to life. Lobbies here in London are bubbling with sensational stories and rumors.

There are three main schools of thought. The first, or hush-hush, school represents the opinion of those delegates who are making every possible effort to have all three requests withdrawn and to limit this session of the Assembly and the Council exclusively to the problems of organization: the appointment of

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the Secretary-General and his assistants and building up the various departments. The second school of thought represents the views of those who think that international public opinion will be deeply disappointed if the Security Council reverts to the old horse-trading methods of the League of Nations. They want all three questions to be discussed fully by the Council, and they suggest that every necessary investigation be made on the spot in Iran, Greece and Indonesia so as to give vitality to the new organization. The third school represents the opinion of those who would like to see the Security Council defer action on all requests and sleep over the issues for a few months.

Even if Iran should withdraw her request, the opinion prevailing in informed circles here is that the Security Council will nevertheless discuss the whole situation and will most certainly receive assurances from the interested powers that the principles of the UNO Charter will be fully respected. For, already, the moral impact of the fact that the Security Council exists is so great that no one wants it to be discredited in the eyes of world opinion. Of course, whatever action the Council may take will have the character of compromise, because the organization is still in its infancy and must handle its problems with the utmost care. In long-range policy, the Security Council will only be able to exercise influence when the Military Staff Committee is effectively organized, and when the still prevailing atmosphere of distrust is dissipated.

This Assembly once more demonstrated how long the road ahead is before one can talk of true international coöperation. Despite the repeated assurances of the United States Government, there were strong fears in the first days of the Assembly that at any moment isolationism might again engulf United States diplomacy. Byrnes's speech, which pledged the fullest coöperation of the government and the people of the United States, has greatly contributed to allay them. The Russian attitude, at first a puzzle to most delegates, has also become clearer. Russia seems to be ready to respect to the letter every provision of the Charter, but she appears unwilling, despite the discovery of atomic energy, to modify or extend in any respect a single one of her provisions or principles. The colonial powers, on the other hand, are unwilling to consider any extension of the principle of trusteeship to territories outside the mandates, and even the transfer of the mandates is limited by so many qualifications that no real change will be noticeable for the present.

Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

Hope You Profit by These!

The feeling of a lack of vigor in certain vital fields of action, however, is not the fault of the powerful nations alone, for the small countries have a share of responsibility for this situation. First of all, many of the small powers are represented by extremely reactionary delegates. The main preoccupation of some of the smaller nations seems to be to guard their prerogatives as sovereign states. Many Latin American representatives and the Arabs use the term "sovereignty" profusely. The Argentine delegation, which is the real outcast of this Assembly, strongly insists on "self-determination." An anti-fascist Argentinian observed later in the lobby, "Yes, Peron's self-determination is *à la* Hitler and Mussolini."

As things stand now, the best that can be hoped for from this meeting of the Assembly is the election of the Secretary-General, the establishment of the Military Staff Committee, and a beginning of international coöperation on atomic energy. The main battleground for more progressive international coöperation remains within the United Nations themselves. Unless a majority of the citizenry of the world makes it clear it is ready to go much farther, the present UNO will often be in danger. There is little prospect that many issues which liberals hoped would be solved by the Assembly, such as the Spanish problem, will be settled, despite the presence in the lobbies every day of Negrin, de los Rios and Azcarate. The bill of human rights, the suspension of the Argentine delegation, the Palestine problem and many others will have to wait for the pressure of international public opinion.

However, friendly relations among the various delegates are growing in the weary atmosphere of postwar London. Some international social life is springing up, mostly around whiskey and other bottles brought from abroad.

One of the funniest incidents, which indicates a certain lack of political maturity in the provisional secretariat, was the distribution to the delegates of the treaty signed in 1929 between the Vatican and the Italian government. The document apparently was to serve as a model for the treaty to be signed by the UNO and other powers. So far, so good—but the astonished reader thinks he is dreaming when he sees at the head of the document the names of the plenipotentiaries: His Majesty, the King of Italy, was represented by His Excellency, Benito Mussolini, Prime Minister and Head of the Government!

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The Good Chance in China

by Richard Watts Jr.

WHATEVER MAY BE SAID against Patrick J. Hurley, his explosive departure from the China scene was a splendid contribution to the peace and progress of the Far East. It is true that his resignation as Ambassador to Chungking and his shrill outcries before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did not work out as he had anticipated. Nevertheless, he did perform a service to his country. By the sheer violence of this hysteria he called attention to the peril of a Chinese civil war which he had been helping to bring about, to the immediate need for a shift in American policy and to the political wisdom of the foreign-service officers he had tried to destroy; and this luridly melodramatic method was far more effective in focusing national attention on China than any cool, thoughtful analysis could have been.

It is no exaggeration to say that the ineptness of his utterances made it obvious that whatever policies he had been advocating and carrying out deserved at least careful reconsideration. The happy issue was that, almost single-handed, he put Secretary of State Byrnes and President Truman on their mettle, with the result that Washington at last produced a sensible statement on official American purposes toward China. General Marshall succeeded the discomfited Mr. Hurley, and the January 10 truce between the Kuomintang and the Communists was proclaimed.

The most difficult and important part of the task lies ahead, and there are many reasons for pessimism. The fact remains, however, that a definite advance has been made. Although fighting still appears to be going on in the more remote parts of the country and there are charges on both sides about breaking the truce, it seems that, on the whole, the agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communists to confine their forces to their present positions is being kept; that neither side at the moment wants to take upon itself responsibility for a resumption of armed conflict; and that the situation, despite its unpleasant aspects, represents the closest thing to internal unity the country has known since the hopeful period of the people's front between the release of the Generalissimo after the Sian Incident in 1936 and the fall of Hankow in 1938.

On the side of optimism the brightest feature is the popular upsurge against civil war and for democratic unity. Because China is so vast and her average of literacy and political understanding so low, there has always been a tendency on the part of Westerners to dismiss the importance of Chinese public opinion and to state as one justification for the Kuomintang dictatorship that the Chinese masses are as yet too lacking in political awareness to participate in government or to influence it. The Kuomintang, however, knows better, and Chiang himself could testify to the falsity of any such belief. It was the mass strength of popular feeling, particularly among the student groups, which more than anything else forced the reluctant Chiang and his party to resist Japanese aggression in 1937.

CURRENT NEWS from China, strictly censored as it is, indicates clearly that popular sentiment is once more making itself felt, and again the chief instruments of this sentiment are the student groups. From both Kunming and Chengtu, wartime homes of most of the great universities, comes word that there have been large student demonstrations against civil war, against American military support of Hurley's policies and on behalf of coalition government. Some of the demonstrators were shot by the Kunming military, and the government was sufficiently concerned over the resulting popular indignation to order the quick arrest of the officials responsible for the shooting. No observer of Chinese affairs is likely to suspect that this punishment was the result of a sudden burst of humanitarianism from Chungking.

These demonstrations are not the only sign of the power of popular feeling on behalf of unity. Reports, for example, indicate the growing influence of the Democratic League, which is an alliance of a number of small political parties, neither extreme Left nor extreme Right, but of varying degrees of democratic liberalism. Ever since its formation a few years ago, the League has possessed a sort of spiritual strength considerably greater than the sum of its individual groups, and, now that it has the same immediate aim as the Communists—participation in a democratic coalition government—its collective popular influence is by no means to be neglected. Then there is the small and not particularly influential liberal group within the Kuomintang. This group, whose best known leader is Sun Fo, son of the great Sun Yat-sen, seemed cowed during the past year, but of late it is showing renewed signs of activity and is once more aligning itself on the side of peace. There are those who regard the Kuomintang liberals as hypocritical window-dressing on the part of a reactionary clique, but my impression is that their political weakness is to be attributed rather

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to lack of forcefulness than to lack of principle.

There is no doubt that the presence of General Marshall has so far proved extremely beneficial, not only because of his skill and tenacity in bringing the two sides together and helping to arrange the current armistice, but also because he has so conducted himself that both Communists and Kuomintang desire to appear at their best before him. The Generalissimo's recent commitments concerning freedom of expression, local popular government, the legalizing of non-KMT political activity and the release of political prisoners may actually prove of value in the light of this desire to make a proper impression on the new Ambassador. The evidence indicates that there is a closer approximation to good faith in the current negotiations than there has been at any time since the Sian Incident, despite the jockeying for position on both sides.

NEVERTHELESS, only an extreme optimist would call the chances for success more than even. A tremendous amount remains to be accomplished, including solutions of such controversial problems as the extent of all-party participation in the government, establishment of a workable democratic constitution and national control of the armies. It is clear, for one thing, that the addition of one or two members of the Communist Party and the Democratic League to a government still under dictatorial Kuomintang control would not constitute real coalition. There must be, as the recent Moscow communiqué put it, "broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the national government." Furthermore, the democratic parties cannot be expected to accede to Chiang's expressed determination to convene the National Assembly, hand-picked by him nine years ago, or to accept its ratification of the Draft Constitution, drawn up before the war against Japan and planned to make Kuomintang domination certain.

Schloss in France Amerique

The New Solar System
Centrifugal or Centripetal?

National control of all Chinese armies has been stressed by Chiang with the logical contention that without such control there can be no real national unity. To that extent he is on unassailable ground. It assuredly cannot be expected, though, that the Communists will give up their troops to a central government in which they are not allowed to participate, or participate only nominally, particularly since the so-called National Army is in reality a Kuomintang Party army. The course of Chinese history since Chiang destroyed his Communist allies in Shanghai in 1927 indicates that any such surrender would be sheer suicide. Any sensible plan to unite Kuomintang and Communist troops in a truly national army would have to follow, not precede, the establishment of a genuine coalition.

High among the handicaps to a peaceful settlement stands the residue of the Hurley-Wedemeyer policy. Despite official American insistence that United States armed forces remain in China only to help disarm the remaining Japanese, there remains the general belief that they are there for a political reason. Since we have armed the Kuomintang and provided it with military planes—at the cost of American lives—the suspicion is justified. There certainly must have been some doubt about the United States as impartial arbitrator in the town of Kaoyu, some fifty miles north of Nanking, a few days after last Christmas.

From there, Edward Rohrbaugh, a United Press correspondent and member of the staff of J. B. Powell's far-from-Red *China Weekly Review*, reported to his press association by Yenan short-wave radio:

> While a representative of Chiang Kai-shek conferred with Communist delegates in Chungking, his planes strafed farmers, boatmen and townspeople in and near this city well above the Yangtze in New Fourth Army territory. I saw a P-47 bearing a Kuomintang star blast a cottage by the grand canal, half a mile ahead of me on the outskirts of the city. . . . The people had seen American fighter planes before; they had seen these planes in the air fighting Japs. But never had American guns been directed against them, and they stood in the canal road motionless, unconscious of the fact that those guns carried death for them. Their brown faces were steeped in bewilderment and incredulity, and their helplessness against American-made power in the air was the helplessness of Ethiopians against Mussolini's feats.

It is this feeling of American participation on one side in a great internal struggle that gives General Marshall's position its gravest handicap; and it is this heritage of the Hurley policy which makes a settlement more difficult now than it would have been in 1944

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when General Stilwell and Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss were making notable progress toward effecting at least a working agreement. Then there was a general feeling of American good will, which now has to be restored with such great effort. Therefore, it seems all the more unfortunate, and even mischievous, when Joseph W. Alsop so flagrantly misinterprets the respective achievements of Stilwell and Hurley as he did recently in the usually excellent column he and his brother Stewart contribute to the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Joe Alsop is an exceptionally brilliant reporter and commentator, who is every other inch a good progressive. He is experienced in China affairs, having served during the war as personal aide to General Chennault and, before that, as adviser to T. V. Soong, both of whom he lyrically admires. Despite his journalistic cynicism, he is also a hero-worshiper, and his devotion to Chennault is fervent and beautiful. What he set down in his column was half sound reporting and half a characteristically impassioned personal attack on the man who had dared cross his idol, done with almost Pegler-O'Donnell venom. He was right in saying that Stilwell's tactless honesty handicapped him in dealing with the equally testy Generalissimo, and there is evidence to support his contention that "Vinegar Joe" did not properly appreciate air power. When, however, he stamps his foot and shouts that General Stilwell's almost successful attempt to bring the Kuomintang and the Communists together in a common effort with American support to fight Japan—a wartime equivalent of what General Marshall is striving to accomplish today—showed his "inability to grasp large issues" and was a dastardly blow at Chinese sovereignty, he is talking as wildly as he did when he said a kind word for Hurley's amiable disposition.

One of the best possible contributions to Chinese unity is American popular support and understanding of efforts to achieve such unity, and the encouraging growth of that support and understanding has already done much to give a more hopeful direction to our policy in the East. It is because Mr. Alsop is so able and influential a columnist and his observations are frequently so sound that his display of personal pique and the fantastic political conclusions he draws from it become dangerous in a day when information, not spite, is needed. A Hurley-Alsop axis at this point is a sad and anachronistic sight.

Four Million Muzzles

by Dale Kramer

THE STARTLING GI demonstrations around the world pointed up a tragic fact: civilians have not been able to get a true picture of the minds and feelings of soldiers. The so-called revolt was nothing more than a last desperate effort of soldiers to break through to the people at home.

Failure of the civilian press to give even a hint of the approaching storm might have been surprising except for its refusal or incapacity all through the war to serve as a connecting line between the troops and the public. Almost without exception the correspondents were content with reporting the surface.

It is true that after the demonstrations broke, a few writers tried to look behind the official "homesick-hysteria" explanation. Hansen W. Baldwin remarked in the New York *Times*, for example, that "the GI's who demonstrated in Paris and demanded abolition of special officer privileges—though they went too far—were far closer to the root of the real trouble than all the rest."

Yet Mr. Baldwin denounced the demonstrations—including "astigmatic observers" who supported them—and even made a cavalier reference to "crybabies." How else under the circumstances does Mr. Baldwin think soldiers could have made themselves heard?

There are, of course, certain Army channels, chiefly the Inspector General's office. There isn't space to go into the matter thoroughly, but I can report the answer of the Manila IG. And the demonstrations started in Manila. While we were being rapidly driven mad by broken promises and demobilization unfairness (we were 80 to 100-pointers then), I made a trip to the IG to express a belief that the troops couldn't mentally withstand the war of nerves much longer. I was told that the men were not "behaving like good soldiers" by a spick-and-span major fresh from the States.

Only the press could have provided a broad and smooth channel to the War Department and to the people. But it would not or could not. Columns of the *Times* itself provide examples enough of correspondents' failure to understand the trend of events.

In a dispatch from Nuremberg, Tania Long approached the demobilization question by simply looking about the "castle" where correspondents were housed. The situation was found to be alarming. Service was execrable owing to departure of high-point

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GI's and the failure of replacements to show up. "The correspondents," the story declared, "carry their own copy down three flights of marble stairs." GI's going home after several years of service must have hung their heads in shame at desertion of their posts.

Raymond Daniell saw a plot against freedom of the press in what seemed a move to bar correspondents from wearing officers' uniforms—which are undeniably better-looking than those of enlisted men. He was thinking, too, of the effect on the Germans. Officers' jackets, pink trousers, and reefers might "be stripped from [correspondents'] backs on the streets before German eyes."

Dispatches from other correspondents reflect the same attitude of mind. Quentin Reynolds in *Variety* looks back nostalgically on the good old days of free loading at press bars. Sidney Whipple knuckles the brass hats for living high while correspondents in Tokyo dwell several to a room. A reporter for the New York *World-Telegram*, however, came up with the prize bit. During the recent demonstrations he tried to throw doubt on their authenticity by showing that resolution-writers were using three-syllable words.

Correspondents cannot be altogether blamed for their bewilderment. Army and Navy public relations seduced them during the war with free liquor and press handouts, generals and admirals buddied with them, as simulated officers they got the "sir" and the salute from enlisted men. It was a heady experience. Majors were at their beck and call, serving as everything from copy boys to booze runners. Even in battle areas most correspondents allowed themselves to be shepherded by public relations.

That doesn't mean correspondents lacked physical courage. It was simply that the public-relations herd system was the easiest way. To travel outside it was difficult. As a result the majority did not learn enough about the Army to report it adequately. They could describe a battle, or their own activities. And to give the impression of writing about the common soldier, they invented and promoted the insufferable straw figure of GI Joe. Not the GI Joe of Bill Mauldin or the anonymous self-satirizing Joe of the troops. Theirs was the loose-grinning chucklehead always good either for a joke or a jigger of bathos about Mom's punkin pie.

Stampone in the Army Times

"Relief Force" — GI View

And so the correspondents could report the demonstrations because they were physical facts and quotes from the participants could be written down. It was a cut-and-dried story in the police-reporter sense. But they could not report the causes—or forecast events—for the reason that they had no idea what was going on in the minds of the troops.

The excellent reporting by the *Daily Pacifican* in Manila and various *Stars and Stripes* editions was possible, on the other hand, because soldier correspondents knew the Army, had rarely if ever been wooed by public relations and, above all, were interested parties. When censorship was lifted, they, along with soldier contributors to letter columns, did a job which someone ought to record for journalistic history. Even the backhanded censorship of providing information "channels," actually aimed at hiding facts, could not stop them. They had the knowledge and the courage to outwit the brass.

And when, after the demonstrations, censorship was clamped down again, these GI newspapermen with their final gasps told the world about it. In this connection the civilian correspondents did a service. They recorded the gasps.

WHAT IS going on in the Army now that the censorship curtain has been yanked back into place? It seems likely that most soldiers believe General Eisenhower spoke in good faith and that he will make a strong effort to carry out his demobilization promises. Troops have less faith in his subordinates. And the other questions raised—the caste system and foreign policy—have not been answered. Inspector General and other channels will be somewhat freer. But the tendency will certainly be toward muzzling individual letter-writers and group ad-buyers in addition to public gatherings and the soldier press.

Thus the opportunity is here for the civilian correspondents to do a job both for the four million men still in service and for the public. They can get out of the press camps, quit feeling sorry for themselves, and use their ingenuity and their guts to report what is going on behind this new wall.

Here at home, too, something can be done. GI's out of service are not muzzled. They can act as spokesmen for the men behind the wall. Perhaps a mass meeting of ex-GI's in Madison Square Garden or elsewhere would forcibly emphasize the fact that causes for the demonstrations lie far deeper than mere homesickness.

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Washington Notes

Hopelessly Antiquated

I HAVE BEEN around Congress 20-odd years and it's my testimony that America has the most complicated big-government machinery on earth. Democracy is thwarted because we don't give it a chance. Anybody can see the Senate filibuster now. But that's only a symptom. Very shortly the LaFollette-Monroney streamlining proposals will be unveiled. They will make important recommendations to reform Congress, and some of them will be passed, maybe. But let's not kid ourselves. This problem goes far deeper.

The Founding Fathers were afraid of a King and a Mob, and they set up a Constitution (a model for its time) specifically designed to produce a weak federal government. Excluding the first ten amendments (Bill of Rights), the Constitution has only been amended 11 times in a century and a half, one of these amendments canceling out another. The system devised creates a chronic institutional antagonism between executive and legislature. And that's the kind of system we have in the atomic age.

I am going to stick my neck out. The center and core of democratic frustration in America, I think, is our antiquated government. To reform it, I believe that sooner or later some kind of parliamentary responsibility must be added. Thomas K. Finletter's *Can Representative Government Do the Job?* (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2) is one discussion of it. But let's get down to cases.

American political parties today are largely meaningless. Why? Because, unlike the parliamentary system, the "outs" have no real responsibility. Government is compartmentalized between committees, between Houses, between Congress and White House. It takes weeks, sometimes, in Washington to pin down responsibility; to find just what particular roadblock is holding up a bill.

Then again, we elect quadrennially a President supposed to carry out a program. Mr. Truman has just appealed for his program. Will Congress pass it? It's unlikely. Newspaper readers are constantly being appealed to to makes their voices heard. They should, of course. But after all, we made our voices heard when we elected Roosevelt and Truman. Why can't we have a governmental system in which an elected administration can carry out a program—as in a parliamentary government, like Canada's?

We have a bi-cameral legislature where either house may be captured by the opposition. This amounts to a vote of no confidence in the President. But does the President quit, like a Prime Minister? Of course not; he can't. He stays on, usually through a crisis, as poor Mr. Hoover did—through two years of frustration. That's what will happen again if the GOP captures the House next fall. Who can argue that that is a sensible way to run the world's most powerful nation?

I think the worst result is the political apathy which the system produces. I saw British and American soldiers during the war. The British Tommies, as nearly everybody agrees, are vastly more politically conscious than our boys. Why? Well, several reasons, one of them being the greater drama of their political set-up. In America we discuss political issues with animation once every four years. You see the two teams line up; the issues are dramatized by personalities. It's as good as a game. Then, for three and a half years, we go to sleep. Congress and President start quarreling again. Who can follow the ins and outs of Washington (even by reading this column)? The Opposition Leader, the Wendell Willkie, who ought to be in there leading the fight, prepared to take over the government at a moment's notice, is on the sidelines or out of the game.

Under the parliamentary system there's party responsibility, continuing drama, and the possibility of an appeal to the public on any great issue. And what, folks, is there under the American system? A filibuster in the Senate; political parties so meaningless that Taft and Morse can belong to one, Wagner and Bilbo to another; inter-cameral rivalry that gets a full-employment bill through the Senate, a travesty of the same bill through the House; a liberal program from the Executive that is deadlocked by the Legislature. The world moves faster and faster. How can we prevent the next depression, the next atomic war, with this kind of governmental system?

Notes.—Even if Ford hadn't signed up with the CIO it's doubtful if any major strike legislation would have gone through Congress; the refusal of GM and Big Steel to accept federal wage recommendations took all the punch out of the congressional labor-baiters. Probably legislation strengthening conciliation and mediation machinery on a voluntary basis will ultimately pass. . . . Powerful John L. Lewis is likely to dominate the AFL, which, with his 600,000 miners, will now have membership of around 7.5 million to the CIO's 5.5 million; thoroughly opportunistic, bitterly hostile to the CIO, nationalistic Lewis will put new militancy into the AFL. . . . The basic struggle over Truman's budget program will decide whether peacetime savings should go to continued social services or to tax reductions; most professional budget-balancers are more concerned over lower taxes than sound finances. . . . This column has investigated the plans to extend the White House executive wing and is reconciled to them; what it does object to on esthetic grounds is the fact that there's a fireplace on Truman's yacht. . . . Many signs indicate less opposition by returning GI's to unions than had been expected; apparently they are discovering that the stories of high wages are largely myths. . . . Whatever Congress does, President Truman is consciously building up for himself a comprehensive, coherent long-range legislative program; Congress is all set to ignore "good old Harry," believing his radio appeal a flop. Just where Truman's quiet insistence and Congress' airy indifference will finally wind up is anybody's guess. . . . The British-loan debate starts immediately in Congress; opposition is well organized and impressive—about the only recent encouraging news for the loan is its endorsement by the AFL executive, an action taken, incidentally, before Lewis rejoined the body. . . . Opponents of the FEPC filibuster see little hope of breaking it; it's backed by poll-tax Senators and to attack the poll tax would bring a filibuster, too. . . . Grim, unsmiling Stephen Du Brul, GM economist and co-founder of the

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Detroit "Sentinels," sat at Charles E. Wilson's right all through the latter's testimony to the Senate Labor Committee; Senators were aching to ask him questions about the Sentinels, and Walter Reuther's carefully calculated attack gave them the opportunity.

Washington T. R. B.

Miss Graham; the Lunts

Martha Graham and Dance Company. Plymouth Theatre, January 21, 1946.
O Mistress Mine, by Terence Rattigan. Empire Theatre, January 23, 1946.

MISS MARTHA GRAHAM now enters into what, so far as I know, is a new phase in her career. She passes into a complete arrangement with a commercial manager, Mr. S. Hurok, to be presented for a two weeks' run in New York and then on tour. There are, as anyone in the theatre knows, advantages and disadvantages in such matters; but any way you take it, it is high time that more of the professional weight should be eased for Miss Graham.

The repertory she offers will consist of "Every Soul Is a Circus," "Salem Shore," "Herodiade," "Punch and Judy," "Appalachian Spring," "Deaths and Entrances," "Letter to the World," "John Brown" and "Dark Meadow." All but the last of these are already known to her audiences, but thanks to her method and the thoroughness of her approach, they remain now as fresh as they ever were.

"Dark Meadow" was commissioned for Miss Graham by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation in the Library of Congress. The décor, by Isamu Noguchi, contains a number of stage structures, shapes or properties, as you might prefer to call them. What symbolical meaning they have is not very clear; they are largely intended, I should imagine, as complete within themselves, a part of the visual design—parallel to many of the non-objective paintings of our time—and of the idea or thematic content of the composition. In that sense they might be received in exactly the sense that a picture might be received: inside the frame, as it were, without reference to anything outside the frame. Carlos Chavez has written the musical score for "Dark Meadow": it is music that does not appear to insist; most people, in fact, might not think it musical composition in the cause of ballet; but it seemed to me that Miss Graham's use of it, as if contrapuntally, or around it, or within it, was successful.

The action of "Dark Meadow," we are told in the program note, is concerned with the adventure of seeking, and this dance is the reënactment of the Mysteries which attend that adventure:

Remembrance of the ancestral footsteps—
Terror of loss—
Ceaselessness of love—
Recurring ecstasy of the flowering branch.

Some of the choral movements, taken as drawing or pattern, are notable. To a degree that is unique in our theatre, Miss Graham and Mr. Eric Hawkins, as the central figures, combine precision with intensity and a kind of lyric pressure that appears to be constantly fresh, as if it were ever the instant's intuition. Whether you like "Dark Meadow" or not, and whether you like abstract theatre or not, you have here a chance to see a piece of genuine abstract theatre. It is not an imitation of the German theatre of two decades ago, nor a vulgar effort toward novelty or shock, but genuine throughout. How significant in the future of our theatre nobody could say yet, of course, but merely to raise the question is itself a significant comment.

I have spoken in these columns before of the familiar—but not familiar enough—things to say about Martha Graham. There is a sense of stage projection, based on intensity and absorption and strict elimination of the unessential, that is rarely found in the theatre anywhere. There is a very personal and astonishingly focused magnetism, and a photogenic possibility through which her stage images are so varied and so underscored. There comes through something from her the recognition of which by a large and absorbed audience provides the theatre with a heartening reassurance. And there remains, too, what in art is an ultimate quality—I mean the drawing, as the term is best understood in regard to the art of painting. In Miss Graham's compositions there is often great drawing, there is a concentration within the mass density and outline that in itself suggests a certain, as it were, Giottoesque modern. In this regard her compositions present the most creative, strict and nobly designed manifestations of our theatre.

There is no way of telling how much what we see at the Empire is Mr. Rattigan's play as written and how much it has been rewritten for the Lunts or worked over by them for their special uses. There is no way of telling, therefore, how much the play has gained or lost. At least no money will be lost by the change.

"O Mistress Mine" was performed in London by the Lunts during the war. Its story deals with a Cabinet Minister, a rich Canadian, estranged from a wife who had married him for his money but whom as a statesman he does not divorce because of the scandal involved. He and a widow are deeply in love with each other; he sets her up in a fine house, where they live together with all the regularity and more than the usual devotion of married couples. Her seventeen-year-old son returns somewhat unexpectedly from Canada, where he has been sent after his father's death. He is full of the new ideas, is anti-fascist, anti-capitalist and so on. He resents the change in his mother and her new alliance, and hates her paramour, as he calls the Cabinet Minister. Finally he announces his resolve to move out of the house. His mother goes with him, back to their old flat, and breaks off with her lover. The agreeable dénouement is brought about by the son's falling in love himself, and most disastrously. He understands things better, both his mother and the charms of privilege, and is slowly being seduced to another point of view.

The situation in "O Mistress Mine" is highly promising indeed. Somewhat misleadingly so, for though the first act has no little to it, the play after that emptily thins down and then down. Mr. Dick Van Patten as the young son, a well written part, plays as few actors, old or young, could hope to do. Miss Fontanne and Mr. Lunt do their familiar expert and witty team work, in divers scenes much more than that. A generally delightful evening.

STARK YOUNG

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The Shilling Fund

How does a democracy deal with art? France has dealt with it splendidly, and France is a democracy. But it is one with a heritage from Louis XIV and the feudal centuries before him. Their heavy hands are felt, even today, and have made their system of government control a by-word in the term "official art." The genius of France usually stands apart from it. Cannot America follow a different course, instead of dragging the weight of past errors? It was a Frenchman who asked me that pregnant question, years ago, and observation of our museums and other art expressions convinces me that we are working out our own formula.

Here is an example. The late Alexander Shilling, a painter and etcher of unassertive but very genuine quality, bequeathed his modest estate to two friends, and with the suggestion that they use his money for the benefit of artists. That might seem an easy thing to do, but the more it was considered, the more the problems of scholarships, exhibitions and galleries were studied, the more complicated the matter became. Then it simplified itself again as two basic needs emerged: the artist has to keep alive, and he has to live in contact with his public. He must have some money in order to continue his work, and he should see that work in comparison with the best things of the past and the present, in order to have the greatest possible worth for his community. Our people are eager for his production, and eager to know that what they support has real value—which is too often a different matter from financial value.

The Shilling Fund organized a small committee of men who represent various convictions as to art, and who have merged them without compromise, which is surely a democratic ideal. At the same committee meeting, an "abstract" picture was bought on the suggestion of one member and a "story-telling" picture on the proposal of another member—who was glad of the idea of his colleague at the other end of the line; the so-called modernist reciprocated the feeling, for both knew that the best achievement results when competent men are allowed to follow out their deepest beliefs.

The slender resources of the group have permitted aid to only a few artists so far; but let the idea spread over the country and we may see a really important development. Will the museums, the places where the artist comes into contact with the masters, ancient and modern—and with his public—accept work chosen by such uncompromising groups? The Shilling Fund can offer a straight answer on that point; they will, since they have done so already. In one case, that of George Constant, a man of particularly personal talent, the curator of a great museum said: "I don't think his picture would have much chance if I offered it for purchase, but as a gift, it may perhaps go in." It did, and caused the museum to seek another work by the same artist the year following.

One of Mr. Shilling's heirs, looking at a big canvas by A. S. Baylinson, ejaculated "Shades of Alexander!" But the shade of the old painter, up in the Elysian Fields, has probably grown used to the modern men (so many of them have already joined him there); or if he still has doubts, the knowledge that Baylinson's picture was acquired by so scholarly and thorough a museum as that of Boston must go far to reassure him.

"Couldn't we find a Negro artist that we ought to buy from?" asked the same trustee at a committee meeting. A picture by Jacob Lawrence was accordingly selected, and placed in the museum of Richmond, Virginia (which had exhibited this American's work before). New York, Detroit, Chicago, Santa Fe, Philadelphia, Toledo, Brooklyn and Andover (the Phillips Academy) have also accepted or even invited work selected by the Fund. What is needed among us, therefore, is not more willingness on the part of the public, or talent on the part of the artists (though, be it understood, we shall never rest content with the amount of it we have); what we need is a multiplication of the activity which brings together the two great factors in American art. How fine that sometimes is may be seen in a work acquired from the Fund by the Metropolitan Museum. John B. Flannagan, shortly before his shockingly early death, had produced his "Figure of Dignity," an Irish mountain goat, thus alluding to one land of his ancestry. But his character as an American was reaffirmed when some Mexicans saw his sculpture, for they promptly asserted its relationship to the animal forms that this continent has for many centuries been rendering in art—on their side of the border and on our own. So that if we still use the great and continuing strength of Europe, we also draw upon the wealth of our own soil. And there are men and women to appreciate the result—more of them than we usually credit to ourselves.

WALTER PACH

The Bandwagon

Through the medium of the poll tax and adroit maneuvering of election officials, we have kept the Negro from voting in our county of Beaufort," he [Representative Calhoun Thomas of Beaufort County, S. C.] said. . . . "I know South Carolina has been ridiculed throughout the nation for its poll tax on general elections," Calhoun continued. "But if we make it too easy for the Negro to vote, we are going to have a two-party system. We have got to keep the Democratic Party all-powerful." —*From the Mobile* Register.

Mr. Haley [national service director of the Military Order of the Purple Heart] said surplus military barracks of the temporary type would be ideal buildings in which to raise chickens. And officers' quarters would be ideal places in which a wounded veteran and his family might live. —*From the Washington* Star.

Fillip to Inflation

Attorney and wife want 3, 4, or 5-room apartment, flat or house, either unfurnished or furnished, in nice neighborhood; monthly rental from $50 to $90, more when rent ceiling is lifted. —*From an advertisement in the Detroit* News.

The More It Changes

The State Democratic Executive Committee voted today to open party primaries in Alabama for the first time to qualified Negro voters. . . . The committee also endorsed an amendment requiring prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" instead of merely to read parts of the federal Constitution. —*AP dispatch from Montgomery, Alabama.*

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Be It Ever So Humble

Dramatic as the atom bomb, refreshing as a summer's breeze, this room represents the sort of decor you'll be able to achieve in your postwar home, thanks to designers like Dorothy Draper. —*From a caption in the Chicago* Daily News.

Man Bites Dog

Incensed by what they termed the "insults of unthinking children," Deborah Sampson Chapter, DAR, today withdrew all awards for public-school children. The action follows yesterday's announcement by Brockton High School's senior class that it would not participate in the annual good citizenship Pilgrim award offered by the DAR because of the latter's stand against Negroes. . . . "We can't help but feel that Brockton High School students have been most intolerant and ungrateful," Mrs. Thompson [local DAR head] said.—*From the Boston* Globe.

Comrades-at-Arms

An overseas veteran's desire to "punch the first picket I saw in the nose" was fulfilled but the episode landed him in jail. The scene occurred during picketing of the local Southwestern Bell Telephone Company plant Friday. The victim was an Association of Communication Workers picket who recently was discharged from service following 17 months overseas in Italy. —*AP dispatch from Houston, Texas.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Liberals and the War

SIR: "The more you think about it, the more you are convinced that a global war is a bad idea," says Bruce Bliven (the *New Republic*, December 17, 1945).

Welcome back, thou repentant sinner. But remorse won't make sensible people forget your long intellectual spree and I for one won't kill any fatted calf. How anyone could fall for another war after the experience of the other one is hard to appreciate. And how Mr. Bliven could swallow the Four Freedoms (just a memo for a 1/C radioman), the Atlantic Charter and the other bunk and not see the true trend of events is beyond understanding.

William Henry Chamberlin has completed in the *Wall Street Journal* (of all places for the true liberal spirit to rise) three articles on "American Liberalism Analyzed," from which I quote some very important paragraphs, which should have guided the *New Republic* in the last decade.

The end does not justify the means, because the means will always determine the end.

There is only one freedom. Alleged substitutes for the fundamental civil and personal liberties of speech, press, assembly and election, of religious faith and association for economic betterment are always fraudulent. The existence or non-existence of these liberties is a reliable measuring rod for the civilization and material well-being of a people.

In this age of violence and dictatorship Lord Acton has been proved a hundred times right in his proposition: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Uncontrolled, unchecked power is the main cause of all the major and most of the minor atrocities of our time. The genuine and intelligent liberal will always work for wide diffusion of power and for the establishment of check-and-balance systems in economics, as in politics, which prevent undue concentration of authority.

Any theory or practice of government which permits the wholesale proscription of people on grounds of race, creed, class or nationality is vicious and tainted at the source.

Chicago, Ill. ELMER LUEHR

SIR: Whether Mr. Luehr knows it or not, his letter expresses skillfully the new line of the isolationists and America Firsters. He blandly assumes that the United States had a choice as to whether or not it would enter the war. He ignores the fact that before we came in, there was a substantial prospect that fascism would conquer the world. He acts as though America could select between maintenance of some aloof and perfect society and descent into the arena of conflict. But we had no such choice, and it is important that the isolationists should not be allowed to get away with the pretense that we had.

I spent a great deal of my time in the 1920's pointing out that the treatment of Germany during that decade was creating grave danger of another war. I fought for a policy which would have worked against that war, as long as I possibly could—probably too long, in the light of subsequent events. If I had it to do over again, the only modification in my course would be the one just suggested, which Mr. Luehr would like no better than what I did.

As for the quotation from Mr. Chamberlin, perhaps Mr. Luehr sees what it has to do with the question whether the United States should have stayed out of the war and let the fascists win. I don't. BRUCE BLIVEN

Write Your Congressman!

SIR: President Truman has asked that every citizen make his voice heard in the halls of Congress. To help carry this out, I suggest that you publish in the *New Republic* a blank form like the one below, to make this easier.

Ann Arbor, Mich. AMELIA NEEDLE

[In accordance with Miss Needle's suggestion, we print her blank form below. It can be clipped out and mailed to the Senator from your state or the Representative from your district, with your name and address attached.—THE EDITORS]

In compliance with the request of our President, I urge that immediate action be taken on the following bills and that you as my representative vote as designated below:

Yes	No	
		1. Fact-finding legislation including power of subpoena of company books.
		2. Senate version of Full Employment Bill.
		3. Expansion of Unemployment Insurance Legislation.
		4. Extension of Price Controls.
		5. Extension of Second War Powers Act.
		6. Establishment of Permanent FEPC.
		7. Increase of Minimum Wage.

Respectfully yours,

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The VLA

SIR: In the January 28 issue of the *New Republic*, Mr. Louis Falstein attempted a listing of the types of veterans' organizations now in existence. Unfortunately, Mr. Falstein overlooked the Veterans' League of America, the only anti-totalitarian (whether fascist or communist), pro-labor and anti-discrimination veterans' organization in being.

Organized in May, 1945, because no such organization existed, the League starts from the premise that "the welfare of the Veteran is inseparable from the welfare of the entire country: Negro and white, Jew and Gentile." In line with this principle, the Veterans' League of America has already committed itself on a number of vital issues. To name some of the important ones:

1. We have endorsed labor's efforts to gain a substantial wage increase and we are coöperating with labor wherever possible.

2. We are working for the continuation of rent and price controls to prevent the pauperization of the veteran and the country.

3. We are coöperating with the Committee for a Permanent FEPC to gain the passage of this vital measure.

4. We are opposed to compulsory military training.

5. We support the 65-cent minimum-wage bill and the full-employment bill as passed by the Senate.

6. We are working for a democratization of the army and a complete renovation of the army system of military justice, including the removal of the review of sentences already meted out by the military.

7. We support programs to feed the starving abroad as a humanitarian responsibility and as a practical program of international good will.

8. We support a program of training in democracy in our schools and in the army.

The address of the League is Room 675, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

LEO JOHNSON, SECRETARY,
New York City VETERANS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA

GI in China

SIR: Enclosed you will find a letter written by a young soldier who was stationed in the troubled sections of China for two years preceding the General Hurley episode.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. HUGH RIDALL JR.

[ENCLOSURE]

During last winter, I was stationed at the United States Army airfield outside Sian, the bailiwick of the anti-Communist, Kuomintang-sponsored warlord Hu Tsung-man. It was from here that the reinforcements from the armies guarding the Communist borders were to be flown south, given training and arms by the United States Army and flung into the battle against the Japanese armies running wild in south-central China. This was in accordance with the demands of General Stilwell, made before he was removed, and to which the Central Government expediently made a show of acquiescence. The various estimates of the number of "border guards," supposedly among the best trained, best fed and best equipped troops under the Central Government, ran from 400,000 to 800,000. Opposing them were some 50,000 Eighth Route Army troops spread over hundreds of miles.

Stilwell's cry was that these troops were being wasted, that the small Communist army was not an offensive but a defensive one, and that Hu could afford to release a large number of his troops for fighting in the south.

After Stilwell left, the arrangements were made by which armies were to be flown south to bases in Yunnan Province, and a small group of Americans was sent north to handle "alpha project."

The Chinese troops began to pour in. . . . Limping, hobbling on frozen feet, they moved into line to be examined by American doctors. Guarded by fixed bayonets on all sides, this abject mass of tattered humanity filed past the medical officers. There were little, pale-faced boys who certainly had not yet seen twelve, bent old peasants who should have been home by the cooking-stove; an incredible panoply of the lame, the halt and the blind. On many days there was a 70-percent rejection by standards much lower than those of our army: one of the examining officers told me that no more than 10 percent should have made the grade.

In December of that winter, an American soldier truckdriver was shot and killed by Chinese troops on the road south of Paochi, the railhead due west of Sian. These troops, marching northward to Paochi through the bitter zero-cold of the Tsingling Mountains without proper clothing or food, fired on many trucks that passed them on the road—trucks that to them in the throes of their agony represented shelter, food and surcease from that awful death march. These troops were marching from the south; they were not Hu's armies, but peasants dragged from their fields and villages in the brutal fashion usual in China.

All through the winter this continued . . . but there were still not enough men to comply with the American requests, so they rang in the Youth Corps, supposed to be a volunteer elite recruited from middle-school and college students. They paraded in Sian in their new gray-blue uniforms with green kitbags; they were the pets, the personal wards of the Generalissimo, and they could do no wrong. When weather held up shipments, they piled up in the city and went through it like a cyclone, looting, beating and wrecking till shopkeepers closed their doors in fear. Members of the municipal police were executed for exercising force against the looters; they romped on until the planes got them out. But they were still not the "border guards." In all, I seriously doubt that as many as 10,000 troops were moved from stations north of the Lung-hai railway. I personally didn't see any that I could be sure were members of the "steel ring" forces surrounding the Border Territory centered on Yenan.

Thus did Chiang deliver the goods: from the misery of his own people he dragged another sacrifice to the Kuomintang's ambition for iron oligarchic rule of postwar China. In line with this policy was the dismissal of the corrupt and inefficient war minister, General Ho Ying-chin, demanded by Stilwell and the pro-democratic "little parties" in Chungking. He was "demoted" to chief-of-staff, and at the time of the Japanese surrender handled the negotiations and ordered the drive northward against the Communists.

Somewhere in India T/5 B. L. W.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A typographical error altered the meaning of the first sentence of the letter from Clarence Armstrong, "Postwar Boom and Slump," in our issue of December 31, 1945. This sentence should have read: "In an editorial in the December 10 issue, the *New Republic* expressed the idea that 'the real danger of deflation may lie several years in the future.'"

Reuel Stanfield, president of Local 15 of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers' Union of the CIO, writes to tell us about the 14-week-old strike against the American Tobacco Company in Charleston, S. C. The union asks a 65-cent-an-hour wage and equal pay for Negroes and whites. The company, manufacturers of Lucky Strike and Pall Mall cigarettes, have refused to arbitrate. Mr. Stanfield writes, "You can help us by sending a donation to Local 15 (583 King Street, Charleston). . . . You can write to the American Tobacco Company, 11 Fifth Avenue, New York, urging them to meet with us and consider our demands."

Chicago's Decalogue Society of Lawyers announces the selection of Leo A. Lerner of Chicago for the Society's 1945 Award of Merit. Mr. Lerner is president of the Independent Voters of Illinois and a founder and director of Roosevelt College.

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Books in Review

Machiavellian Coxcomb

In 1938, a few months before Ciano wrote the opening entry in this diary, Hermann Rauschning, in his first and only interesting book, had brushed up the pregnant word "nihilist" to apply it to the engineers of the impending Armageddon. In his sense, a nihilist is a man who—to say it with Mussolini—doesn't exclude anything. It is believed that the Nazis were more complete "nihilists" than their Fascist partners. More probably, the division of labor between them was pretty well balanced. At the northern end of the Axis there was, it is true, efficiency and a more ruthless daring; but Mussolini's minions were less burdened by any kind of ideology. The Fascists had also had time to train in cynicism a perfect second generation, of which Galeazzo Ciano, son-in-law of the Boss and Foreign Minister from 1936 to 1943, was the white-haired boy.

Ciano's diaries[1] cover four years (1939-43), the last and fatal period of the Fascist regime. It is known that Mussolini as far back as 1936 had ordered his Foreign Minister to keep a political diary, with an eye to the glory of Father-in-law. But Galeazzo was too busy with society ladies and too keen about his own career to be a discursive court-historian. He conceived his shabby entries as a daily insurance policy: the faithful lackey who records his services and, at times, begs respectfully to disagree. (He would also, now and then, read appropriate excerpts from his outpourings to some distinguished visitor, Italian or foreign, in support of the maneuver of the day.) From these pages rises a nauseating smell of pettiness and cruelty, with, at every step, massacres impending at the whim of absent-minded despots, while the reader is left to realize to what extent international politics had come to resemble a bloody alcove-intrigue.

The *Diaries* offer no revelation. A few entries, possibly compromising, are missing in the original. The translator was obviously more conversant with colloquial Italian than with the English language or with the Fascist political scene. Ciano's Italian was naturally larded with all the solecisms of the Fascist "style"—a hybrid of the d'Annunzian and the bureaucratic. The translation does preserve one feature of this pompous lingo—its obscurity for the non-initiated. Along the same line, Italian idioms are often rendered literally, names of well known persons and places are occasionally misspelled. As Edmund Wilson recently complained, "Why don't the publishers get these jobs done properly?"

Did Ciano retouch his diaries after his disgrace? His hazardous praise of Churchill's speeches and his recurrent compliments for Allied diplomats make one suspect that he did. After a gap of many fateful months, the final entry of December 23, 1943—written in jail on the eve of his execution—is a rabid indictment of Mussolini and his German masters, and a vindication of Ciano's own "patriotism." In the last manuscript page of this "testament"—as reproduced on the back of the jacket—a very significant erasure can be seen. Originally he had written: "I consider allowing the publication of part of my notes." He then corrected this to read: "I consider allowing the publication of my notes." I shouldn't be surprised if the real story of the Ciano papers had yet to be unveiled.

Mr. Sumner Welles's introduction is 50-percent sympathetic to the author of these diaries. Mr. Welles is "inclined to the belief that Count Ciano possessed many of the qualities of the men of the Italian Renaissance"; which inclines us to the belief that Mr. Welles may be more familiar with the Atomic Age than with the century of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Moreover, according to him, "the Diary proves that, as a statesman, Ciano saw the major issue accurately"—that is, he was opposed to the war. He lacked the courage to fight for his convictions, but he was sorry all the time. This is a crucial statement which must not be left unchallenged. (Appeasement has the strange vitality of a phoenix: it can deal even with ghosts.)

Was Ciano opposed to the war? Subjectively, yes, at times—as a gambler would be in doubt about playing a certain card. He belonged, in the words of a fellow gambler he quotes (Bottai, the Fascist Minister of Education), to "the party of the interventionists in bad faith." Anyhow, he drafted the declaration of war, he engineered the seizure of Albania, he enlisted as a pilot and strafed Saloniki, he had countless meetings with Hitler, von Ribbentrop and Himmler, he presented Marshal Goering with a star studded with diamonds, he approved of the stab in the back of France and, at the peak of Hitler's victories, he summed up his stand as follows: "European hegemony has now been established. . . . Consequently, it is best to sit at the right hand of the master of the house. And we are at the right hand." His was one of those tortuous mental reservations the road to the Fascist hell was paved with, and one Mussolini himself shared periodically. Ciano had sponsored and organized "clean" political murders—about which Mr. Welles still lacks "conclusive evidence"—but in the middle of the final slaughter he would have been happy to save his skin. He lost it.

Ciano was Count of Cortellazzo—a title of nobility just a little older than his tenure at the Foreign Ministry. Both "Ciano" and "Cortellazzo" suggested quite forcibly to many Italians two good, obscene rhymes. They were framed in a quatrain, very popular with every alert citizen of Mussolini's empire, which raised the question whether there was not more luck in the seat of Ciano's trousers than there were brains in his head. As sometimes happens, history did better justice to him than popular resentment. Ciano proved clever enough to hold office to the satisfaction of his colleagues in many nations. And fortune failed him before the execution squad ordered by Father-in-law.

PAOLO MILANO

[1] **The Ciano Diaries. Edited by Hugh Gibson, with an introduction by Sumner Welles. New York: Doubleday and Company. 584 pages. $4.**

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Jobs for All?

The Road to High Employment, by Douglas B. Copland. Cambridge: The Harvard University Press. 137 pages. $1.75.
Financing Full Employment, by J. Philip Wernette. Cambridge: The Harvard University Press. 126 pages. $2.
The Key to Full Employment without Regimentation, by Eugen Berkovits in collaboration with George C. Atkins. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 81 pages. $1.50.

THE FERMENT of economic invention which has given rise to the project of maintaining full employment while continuing to entrust the major part of economic activity to private enterprise did not stop with the famous British White Paper or the full-employment bill in the United States Congress. To be sure, Professor Copland's book contains few new ideas. It is rather a carefully considered argument for a full-employment policy, by a trained economist who writes against the background of experience in his own country, Australia. The author naturally lays special stress on the international implications of the subject.

Less orthodox is the approach of President Wernette of the University of New Mexico, who developed the thesis of his brief book while he was on the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Mr. Wernette accepts the basic assumptions that total spending should be large enough to employ everyone who wants to work and that the government must supply such of this spending as business and consumers do not. He departs, however, from the belief of most of the other writers on this subject that the money which the government spends to stabilize total expenditure must be raised either by loans or by taxes.

He is well aware of the difficulties which the prospect of governmental deficits places in the way of the adoption or execution of the full-employment policy. Therefore he makes the somewhat startling suggestion that when additional money needs to be spent in order to maintain full employment, the government merely create it by handing over certificates of deposit to the Federal Reserve Banks and then drawing against them. Expansion of money in circulation, he points out, is exactly what is needed in such a situation, and would not be inflationary so long as idle capacity and idle men existed. He proves statistically that the amount of money in circulation has greatly expanded with the growth of population and productive power, while in the long run, the course of prices has been fairly level. This expansion of circulation, however, he argues, has been the result of good luck rather than design. The function of seeing that it happens when it ought to happen should be turned over to the government, acting as the guardian of full employment.

Mr. Berkovits has the experience of a practical banker, and the main lines of his analysis are essentially the same as those of Mr. Wernette. The scheme he proposes to avoid increasing the national debt to maintain employment is, however, different in its details. He would have the banks stop paying interest on savings deposits. This interest is so low already, he argues, that it can hardly be a great stimulus to saving. The banks would use the savings entrusted to them in financing industry and construction just as they do now. When, however, surplus savings appeared which were not being utilized in this way, they should be deposited with a central bank, and the government should have the privilege of borrowing them without paying interest. Thus the government could spend whatever savings were not invested, without enlarging the tax burden.

Like most daring new proposals, these may seem more attractive in principle than when one begins to inquire into the details of their operation. They do, however, deserve careful study. One of the conclusions of that study, I venture to predict, would be that assuring the expenditure of a sufficient amount of money, important though it is, is only the beginning of an effectual employment policy.

GEORGE SOULE

Pro and Con

The Dwarf, by Pär Lagerkvist. New York: L. B. Fischer. 228 pages. $2.50.
Stories from Far and Near, by Lion Feuchtwanger. New York: The Viking Press. 179 pages. $2.50.

THE INTELLIGENCE of a work of fiction is sometimes difficult to estimate, because it is a quality that does not exist by itself, as, say, characterization does, but lies rather in the disposition that a writer makes of all the qualities of his craft. An intelligent man can write stupidly, and an otherwise stupid fellow can, presumably, turn out a fairly intelligent piece of work. In writing, paper seems to take precedence over the brain as the place where thinking is done. It is in this sense that I consider *The Dwarf*, translated from the Swedish of Pär Lagerkvist, a highly intelligent novel, and *Stories from Far and Near*, by Lion Feuchtwanger, one of the dumbest things in a long time.

The narrator of *The Dwarf* is a twenty-six-inch high little monster, born, as he says, of the human race, but standing apart from it and belonging to an old and wizened, sterile stock. He doesn't care for the glories of the Renaissance Italian court to which he is attached, and is unimpressed by the cultural curiosities of his master, a powerful prince, and Messer Bernardo, the court painter, obviously Da Vinci. The dwarf is not taken in by such matters, nor by love, which he, himself passionless, sees only as a bestial instinct. War is the proper study of mankind, and the dwarf's boredom is relieved only when his master wages war on a neighboring prince.

The war is long, costly and indecisive. The warring princes finally arrange a truce, in celebration of which the dwarf's master gives a banquet for his enemy—and has the dwarf poison the guest of honor and all his attendant nobles. The war is resumed, and it goes badly; the country is laid waste, town and castle are besieged by the enemy. Hunger sets in, followed by plague. But the dwarf goes about his business of wreaking vengeance on mankind. He drives his princess mad, and ultimately to her death, and contrives to have her daughter's lover caught and beheaded, as a result of which the bereaved girl throws herself into the river. The siege meanwhile has been lifted by the plague, which frightened away the invading army. Life is returning to normal. The dwarf, however, lingers in the dungeon where the prince has cast him for his malevolence. But he suffers boredom rather than despair, for as he sees the

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Renaissance court resume its avid pursuit of knowledge and beauty, love and power, he knows that the prince will soon again have need of him.

Now where precisely is the element of intelligence in this record of violence and intrigue, this literal rendering and liberal illustration of the Renaissance's reputation for curiosity and cynicism? It is to be seen in the over-all command of the writing, foremost in the vividness of passage after passage that preserves the reality which melodrama devours. Such are the scenes of the campaign, the battles and the orgies, the banquet scene, the descriptions of plague, the portrayal of Da Vinci in his uncertainty and hesitation as a painter and in his enthusiasm for inventing war machines. Most consistently realized of all is the authentic, cranky misanthropy of the dwarf. There is more of the same excellence in Mr. Lagerkvist's construction of parable, his story's relevance to the present, which is clear without being obvious or flirtatious, and in his comments, by way of the dwarf, on the evil in man. I for one am grateful for writers who can face evil without whitewashing it in sociological generalizations and without falling for the comforting nonsense of original sin. It is particularly the latter indoctrination, so widespread today among men who should know better, that is assuming the proportions of a veritable revolution in metaphysics involving a complete abdication of sense. Lagerkvist can embody evil in his characters and neither blush nor croon over them—which embodiment is the fruit of more than mere skill; it is the sign of fictional intelligence.

The unintelligence of Lion Feuchtwanger's stories consists mainly in the coyness with which they refer to the present. Feuchtwanger loves to rib Hitler gently or to call him foul names, as if either procedure were sufficient to the evil of fascism. Yet fascism in all its horror is obviously implied in his stories of Germany; it must be meant as a tragic backdrop, for otherwise one would have to imagine that these little anecdotes of humor and pathos were in themselves enough to tell the story of Europe that Feuchtwanger is straining to tell. Let us assume therefore that the author wants us to keep our own knowledge of Nazism in mind; but it still remains well-nigh impossible to see how his off-hand references can carry even a part of the load of contemporaneity. Hitler, thus evoked, is no more than a historical rumor—something that happened very far in the past, if it happened at all.

If Feuchtwanger is really serious, he writes like a fool. In his story "The Faithful Peter," for example, Hitler's rise to power is explained on the specious ground that Marshal Hindenburg had lost the common touch! If, on the other hand, this is meant to be a fable, then its apparent contemporaneity gets in the way and the moral it draws is worthy not of Aesop, but of Aesop's quadrupeds.

Worst of all is the false account of Europe that these stories give. The scenes and descriptions, the glimpses of Berlin, university towns and summer resorts have the cardboard persuasiveness of Hollywood sets. Though translated from the German, these stories appear to have been written strictly for the American film market: Europe is not too remote, too ugly, miserable, hopeless or demolished to be used as a setting for *kitsch*.

It is of this sort of thing that Feuchtwanger writes in an introductory note:

> These stories . . . are animated by a common purpose: to seize on that particular aspect of a subject . . . which permits of an over-all survey; to observe it at the moment which the great German critic Lessing terms the instant of fruition. . . .

He adds that his stories are not stories in the Anglo-Saxon sense, for none aims primarily at relating an anecdote. Which, as *PM* would say, is Bunk, Because.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Neither Here Nor There

Cross Section 1945. A Collection of New American Writing. Edited by Edwin Seaver. New York: L. B. Fischer and Company. 362 pages. $3.50.

THERE ARE several clear varieties of anthology: some are frankly calculated to pass the time amiably; some by their juxtapositions provide a kind of sociological, esthetic, or philosophical commentary; others are collections of curiosity or cultivated taste, which may discover to us the rare or the neglected. And there are those, of course, in which the emphasis is essentially on the anthologist, operating mainly from a desire to mantle himself in that lustrous cloak woven of the warp of cumulative prestige and the woof, therefore, of extended power. (This cloak often has a silver lining, as well.) Mr. Seaver, who indicates with this second volume of "new" (*i. e.*, "not previously . . . published") writing which he has saved from the death of having no audience, that he envisions a series, must be suspect, at least, of membership in this last brotherhood.

His eagerness to issue a dated volume (thus giving it a head start on becoming a standard fixture in the American literary décor, a timely gift, and a further assurance of our cultural security) has, for all his "beautiful bird's-eye view of the country's rejected manuscripts," apparently obscured for him the greater necessity for a *critical* view. Last year's collection did contain a few items of interest and fair distinction, but this one is truly in a sad way.

Mr. Seaver has not (shall I say *yet?*) the established unction of his confreres in this tidy business, and he indulges in some prefatory belligerence and defensive righteousness, having taken his reviews hard. But all his fine rhetorical conviction, his championing of the young, the clear-eyed-tough, the expressive-of-present-day-anxiety-and-chaos-writing, has a desperate ring. He seems to be beating his drum and talking fast in an attempt to cover up the paucity of his support; the only real unity to be found here is a certain glaze of immaturity, a general pallor of inadequacy.

The collection opens with a fancy, lurid phantasmagoria by Hilde Abel, a Kafkan nightmare of the Nazi regime, heavily symbolic, full of deliberately violent ugliness. This was probably swiped right out from under the indifferent nose of *New Directions*. The rest of the stories range over a small area of inconsequentiality, the contributions by Oliver Evans and Eleanor McCoy forming, perhaps, the base for this uninspiring scale of value. Sentimentality has a deathlike grip on most of the pieces, even the most ostensibly brutal, but even without this throttle they would fall of their own weightlessness. This sternly chosen selection is spiked by two excerpts, one from Richard Wright's outspoken account of his young manhood in Chicago (soon to be

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published in book form), the other from Gladys Schmitt's book about King David (also soon to be published). If anyone, after *The Gates of Aulis*, still requires fair warning, here it is. There is a story by Jesse Stuart, of whose strange and special art no one can ever have quite enough, and one apiece by those perennials of the anthologies, Prudencia de Pereda and Edita Morris. There are also poems, the most acceptable of these being the work of those daring and obscure innovators, Coleman Rosenberger and Harry Roskolenko.

Nowhere is there evidence of an ambition beyond the ordinary outlets, nor of a power too good for them; the over-all effect is of dullness—what facility there is is unenlightened by art. The world would have lost little indeed had the contents of this book never been printed. If Mr. Seaver's passion and taste lead him only to such levels, he should abandon his project for want of merit.

GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

Bitter End

Beach Red, by Peter Bowman. New York: Random House. 122 pages. $2.50.

IT SEEMS you don't have to go through hell in order to be able to write about it. All you need is talent and imagination, and Peter Bowman has plenty of both. Those of us who were in combat like to think that only we know the deep, dark secret of what goes on in a man's fevered mind when the chips are down. The closest Corporal Bowman ever came to storming a beachhead was when, as a member of Army Engineers, he participated in practice landings. But when you set out with him on a patrol mission into the steaming, treacherous jungle, you know it's real; and when you're ambushed by Japanese snipers and can do nothing but stay put and wait for the payoff, you know it's real. By the time you finish his book, you know what it is to be a member of the "Benevolent and Protective Order of the Sweaty Palm."

It has been said by some critics that *Beach Red* is not a novel, and by others that it is not a poem. The label is not important. The book is written as prose, but reads like a poem. Here is an example of form fitting content to perfection. To give the reader the importance of split-second timing, so essential in war operations that even "time" was inducted into the Army," the author has divided his book into 10-word lines, each line representing a second. Each 60-line chapter comprises a minute. The hour is a lifetime to *you*, the protagonist.

You land on Beach Red, and before you're half dug in, you're sent out on patrol with a couple of your buddies. You make your way through the jungle brush, aiming for the Japanese lines. At the end of the hour, one of your buddies finds you and reports: "There's nothing moving but his watch."

The plot is thin. But the words come hurtling out with the anger and authority of armor-piercing bullets. The reader will have no difficulty identifying himself with the protagonist, but there is the danger that he will soon forget him because the author gives us little beyond the man's immediate anguish and sufferings. Glimpses of his past life, his dreams, are too sketchy. I've heard the argument that Bowman was right in not trying to individualize his protagonist, thus establishing the universality of the man with a gun. But the argument is hardly valid. There is no substitute for character, not even in this very skillfully written volume.

While in the process of exposing the brutality of war and the utter waste of human life, the author's great anger leads him to some defeatist conclusions:

> To them it's absurd and wholly unreasonable to say that they have traveled five thousand miles to protect their homes and families when they know perfectly well they could have better homes and happier families by not going anywhere at all.

He loses sight of *right* and *wrong*. "Battle doesn't determine who is right. Only who is left. . . . Your greatest danger is from your fellow human beings." There are many such lines, loaded with cynicism and disillusionment. The sum total is an indictment of war, all wars, just and unjust. No distinction is made between those who forced the war upon the world, and those who fought back in self-defense.

It is too early to say whether this book will "set a new fashion in the future literature of this war," as John P. Marquand states in a blurb. There is no doubt that bitterness and cynicism will be important themes in American literature. A great deal depends on the kind of peace we make, and on our ability to mold a more inviting future than seems in prospect for us now. Right now the American war-born writer is bitter, and unlike his fellow writer in countries liberated from the Nazis, who will undoubtedly exploit the theme of affirmation, the American writer is waiting—to see what will happen.

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A Reader's List

PLANNING No. 243. HIGH STAKES AT WASHINGTON (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). Those who want to know why the British have found the recent American loan a "bitter pill to swallow" will discover the reasons in this broadsheet. PEP concedes that the loan is important for world reconstruction and it tries to dispel any idea that the British are ungrateful. Yet "the early removal of current exchange restriction," the editors say, "and the rapid restoration of multilateral trading at a time when the British economy is still in no shape to dispense with one or to participate freely in the other [adds] to our difficulties and thereby increases the risk of default." PEP amply documents this dour view. The wartime disposal of $17 billion of external assets and a prospective deficit of $5 billion in the balance of payments do not make the assumption of new financial burdens an easy task. The loan obligates Great Britain to accept a "high degree of austerity," but it also obligates the United States to reduce its tariffs. On the surface we have had the better bargain; we surrender little, while Great Britain must give up her sterling bloc and her imperial-preference system. They are willing to undertake the risk, the editors remark, if it means laying the foundations for a prosperous world. In the long run, however, Britain is gambling on America's ability to maintain a high level of economic activity. "If America fails," the broadsheet warns, "the world will be driven back to regional and bilateral trading, debtor countries will default and the responsibility will be that of the United States."

NEGRO LABOR: A NATIONAL PROBLEM, by Robert C. Weaver (Harcourt, Brace, $3). Only when war comes does the Negro worker succeed in obtaining a place in the industrial scheme of things. The insatiable demand for manpower brings him up several notches, but when peace is declared, back he goes to the dirty and the heavy job and to the menial tasks in the service industries. Mr. Weaver's study, which deals primarily with the Negro's employment experience in this war, describes in unmistakably plain language our shocking treatment of black labor. During World War I, Negro work teams were good enough to set production records in shipbuilding and construction. But the "normalcy" of the twenties, and the depression, relegated the Negro worker to the social scrap heap. And even in this war, Mr. Weaver shows, it was not easy to overcome the barriers of prejudice and stupidity. He relates how difficult it was to get jobs for Negroes in construction, aircraft, shipbuilding and local transportation. His recital of events in Detroit, Philadelphia and Los Angeles is a moving one, in spite of a dry and factual presentation. Management alone, says the author, cannot be indicted; the stubborn record of certain labor unions is not a very pleasant one. Nor, for that matter, did government agencies—other than the NYA and the FEPC—give much assistance. To return to prewar occupational patterns would be tragic; yet will we be able to offer enough jobs to eliminate racial competition? That, Mr. Weaver correctly suggests, is a problem that presses for immediate solution.

Crime and Punishment

MURDER WITHIN MURDER, by Frances and Richard Lockridge (Lippincott, $2). Miss Amelia Gipson's research into old murder cases must have turned up damaging evidence against someone, for her death by poison is encompassed smack in the reading room of New York's public library (main branch). Jerry North, for whose publishing house the disagreeable old battle-axe was working when she died, is drawn into the investigation, and Pam, of course, muscles in too. Working with their pal, Bill Wiegand of Homicide, the engaging trio comes up with a clever solution. Diverting.

DARK ROAD, by Doris Miles Disney (Crime Club, $2). There's no mystery to this one because the author lets you in on Hazel Clement's project—which she accomplishes—to get rid of her tiresome, aging husband so she can marry a more appetizing character. And Hazel was on the verge of getting away with it when a smart and imaginative trouble-shooter for the insurance company begins putting two and two together. Grim and mighty interesting. E. H.

Contributors

Walter Pach's paintings and etchings belong to the permanent collections of the Metropolitan Museum and other famous galleries. Among his books are *Vincent van Gogh* and *Ingres*, and he is the translator of *History of Art*, by Elie Faure, and *The Journal of Eugene Delacroix*.

Paolo Milano, on leave from the Romance Languages Department of Queens College, New York City, is writing an *Introduction to American Classical Literature*, for publication in Italy.

Isaac Rosenfeld's first novel, *Passage from Home*, will be published in March by the Dial Press.

Gertrude Buckman, a young writer, has had reviews printed in *Partisan Review*, *Sewanee Review* and the New York *Times Book Review*. She is at present doing editorial work for the Bollingen Series, Pantheon Books.

Louis Falstein is free-lancing and working on a novel about the war. He lives in New York City.

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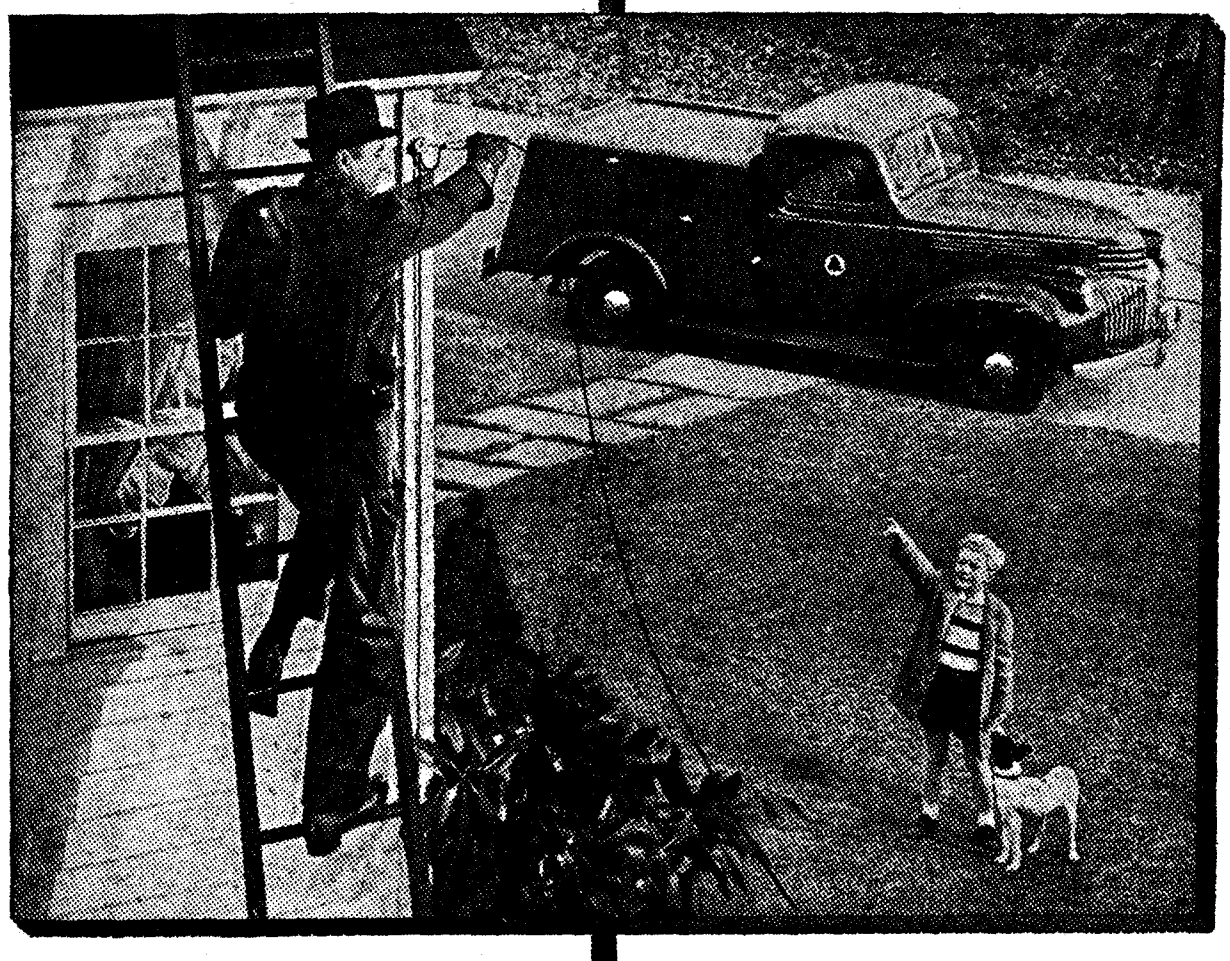

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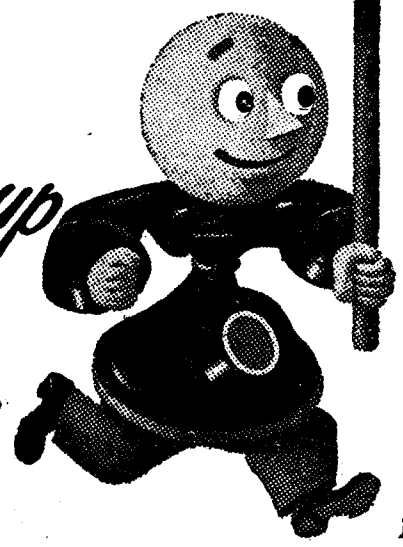

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